“A plea for a renaissance”:

Dorothy Todd’s Modernist experiment in British *Vogue*, 1922 -1926

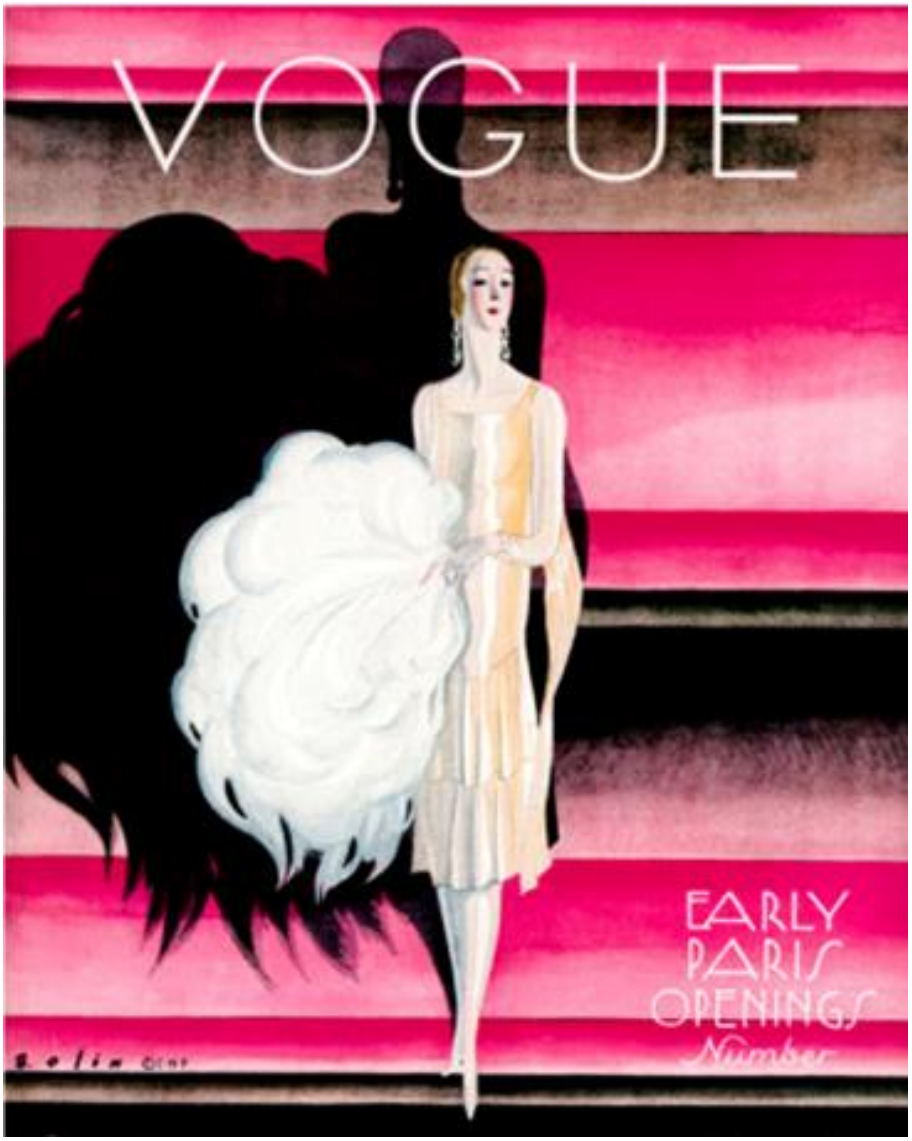

Figure 1

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Abstract

This is not a fashion paper: Modernism, Dorothy Todd and British *Vogue*

"Style is thinking."[1]

In 1922, six years after its initial inception in England, *Vogue* magazine began to be edited by Dorothy Todd. Her spell in charge of the already renowned magazine, which had begun its life in America in 1892, lasted until only 1926. These years represent somewhat of an anomaly in the flawless history of the world's most famous fashion magazine, and study of the editions from this era reveal a *Vogue* that few would expect. Dorothy Todd, the most enigmatic and undocumented figure in the history of the magazine and, arguably within the sphere of popular publications in general, used *Vogue* as the vehicle through which to promote the innovative forms in art and literature that were emerging at the beginning of the twentieth century. Through her inclusion of artists and writers whom we would now consider to be the influential makers of modernism, Todd turned *Vogue* into an advanced literary and social review and thus a magazine of modernism. Preconceptions which regard *Vogue* as a mere mass circulated fashion glossy need necessarily be dismissed before reading this work, as the *Vogue* of 1922-1926 presented the fashions of the body alongside the “fashions of the mind"[2] This research will demonstrate both the extent of *Vogue's* transformation into a modernist magazine and to seek to locate the lost editor of Dorothy Todd. Such a meticulous project has never yet to be undertaken. Dorothy Todd's *Vogue* can be no longer dismissed as mere frivolity in the frenzied and tumultuous intellectual climate of the inter-war period.

[1] Marguerite Young In *Inviting The Muses: Stories, Essays, Reviews* (Normal, III,:Dalkey Archives, 1994) p.114

2 Lachmansingh, Sandhya Kimberley (2010*), ‘Fashions of the mind’: Modernism and British vogue under the editorship of Dorothy Todd,* M.Phil. thesis, University of Birmingham.

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Acknowledgements

"What's the best accessory? A book." Vivienne Westwood

First and biggest proclamations of appreciation go to my beloved grand-parents, without whom, this PhD would not have ever begun. I hope that I've made you proud. Although out of sight, you are always in my heart. God bless.

I dedicate this thesis to the people who instilled in me my love of books and of writing: my Mum and Dad. From an early age I remember being read to and then encouraged to read as far and as wide as possible. I believe that the love of learning from literature that they taught me of so well, has led me along this yellow brick road. I also remember all those school projects you helped me with in my determination to be top of the class and I thank you for reading this one — and enjoying it. Mum and Dad and clever brother Adam, you've been supportive and encouraging in so many ways, and in encountering the many bumps in this yellow brick road, I have always been able to click my ruby slippers and return to London: there never will be a place like home. All my love.

As a matter of principal [sic in this case humorously intentional] I wish to thank Professor Scott McCracken, my lead supervisor for his guidance and encouragement. Also to Professor David Amigoni for reading my thesis and for offering some very valued advice. Sincere thanks also go to my examiner, and friend, the stylish Professor Ian Bell, for his always excellent questions and his interest in my research.

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Finally, I'd like to thank Dorothy Todd, Dody, (fellow Chelsea Girl) for her visions, her contributions, her appetites and her invisibility which have combined to make her the sole motivation for this work. She has become the centre of my academic fascination and I hope in time, to discover more about this true "woman of genius."

Preface

Full Name: Dorothy Elsie F. Todd

Address: 105 Cromwell Road, Chelsea, London, S.W.6

Post To Which Applying: Editor of Vogue Magazine

Previous Experience: An assortment of editors saw British Vogue through its infancy, one of whom was myself. For a time I was replaced by a Miss Anderson, for Mrs. Chase and Mr. Nast decided I should work in the New York office so that I might acquaint myself more thoroughly with Vogue policies and format.[3]

Personal Statement: My aim is to make *Vogue* into a magazine of such literary and social importance that it will be acceptable everywhere.[4] I wish to change *Vogue* from just another fashion paper to being the best of fashion papers and a guide to the modern movement in the arts.[5] I believe I have a gift for making people feel that they, and only they can write about a particular subject. I also believe I have the ability to approach the right persons in the right way and will be able to persuade, because of this talent and my social connections, most of the literary figures of the day to contribute to my creation.[6]

[3] Adapted from Edna Woolman Chase's words in Always in Vogue pg. 130
[4] Adapted from Madge Grland's words in *Recollections of Virginia Woolf* pg.208
[5] Adapted from Nancy Mitford's words in *Recollections of Virginia Woolf* pg.111
[6] Adapted from Madge Garland's words in *Recollections of Virginia Woolf* pg.210

Introduction

"Civilisation in the Mind"[1]:

Modernism and British *Vogue*, 1922-1926

[2]

Figure 2

[1] Moody, A. D. cited in Bell, Quentin, *Bloomsbury* (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson Ltd, 1968) p.11

[2] Images sourced from: http://www.vogue.co.uk/search?q=1922 accessed on 7th March 2014

i "We find ourselves fumbling rather awkwardly"[3]: Defining Modernism

"The term modernism is a product of the critical work of the latter half of the twentieth century"[4] and, as a label for identifying a particular literary and cultural moment, has since been considered as fragile, complicated and vague. Modernism is not capable of being categorically defined, nor is it to be understood as a movement. Rather, it should be comprehended as a "convenient demarcation of a period and a set of concerns."[5] Considering modernism as a set of responses to historical and social changes is therefore the most beneficial approach to reaching an understanding of its meaning. The beginnings of modernism are equally as difficult to establish. Broadly, the modernist era has been located between the 1890s and the late 1930s, encompassing a period of significant, rapid and destabilizing social, political and historical change. The emergence of modernism signified: "a broad recognition that the turn of the century saw transformations that generated a significantly, and often painfully, new social reality.[6] Michael Whitworth has identified eight hypothetical questions which he envisages as those which modernists would have asked themselves in their "motivations for becoming modernist."[7] These questions reveal the necessity for art to adapt to adequately express the changing world and range from a desire to understand the justifications for "art in a world dominated by commerce," the questioning of the relationship "between art in the present moment to the art of the past," and an examination of the "position of the writer in contemporary society." Considered retrospectively, these questions also reveal how modernism needs to be considered as a "process of change and development rather than an evolution upwards towards an achieved end."[8]

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[3] Woolf, Virginia, "Modern Fiction" [1925] cited in Kime-Scott, Bonnie, [ed.] *The Gender of Modernism: A Critical Anthology* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990) p.632

[4] Shiach, Morag, [ed.] *The Cambridge Companion to the Modernist Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) p.4

[5] Kolocotroni, Vassiliki, Goldman, Jane, & Taxidou, Olga, [eds.] *Modernism: An Anthology of Sources and Documents* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1998) p.4

[6] Shiach, Morag, [ed.] *The Cambridge Companion to the Modernist Novel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) p.9

[7] Whitworth, Michael, H. [ed.] *Modernism* (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2007) p.6

[8] Brooker, Peter, cited in, Whitworth, Michael, H. [ed.] *Modernism* (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2007) p.32

Definitions of modernism are difficult to summarize because of its inclusion of different ideologies. Modernism acts as somewhat of an umbrella term under which a plethora of "isms" shelter. Movements including, symbolism, vorticism, surrealism, futurism, expressionism, imagism, cubism, Dadaism, formalism and post-impressionism all exist within the era loosely labelled as modernist. Centrally, all these movements were similarly concerned with the problem of presenting the modern world during a revolutionary and dynamic era.

What really encapsulates the modernist spirit of innovation and renovation is Ezra Pound's famous aphorism which urged writers, artists and musicians of the early twentieth century to "make it new!"[9] Pounds injunction promotes the need for necessary development from the regimentation and restrictions of the realism adhered to by the Victorians, as well as a need for an overhaul in the presentation of works of art that would result in a mode appropriate and representative of the new, modern world. This commitment to presenting the new led to the application of visionary and experimental forms in presentation, indeed "the rise of the manifesto and essay as an art form in itself may be considered one of the main transitions of the period."[10] Canonical "modernist manifestos"[11] such as those anthologised by Jane Goldman — Virginia Woolf's "Modern Fiction," and "Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown," as well as T. S. Eliot's "Tradition and the Individual Talent" — have "shaped our understanding of literary traditions in this period"[12] and serve as the most comprehensive exemplars of modernism's priorities and principles. These manifestos, which highlight the effect of cultural upheaval upon the mind of the individual writer and the shared dedication to discussing the state of contemporary writing, are also noteworthy for their original site of publication. Woolf's "Modern Fiction" was originally published under the title "Modern Novels" in *The Times Literary Supplement* of April 1919. "Mr.

[9] Pound, Ezra. *The Cantos*, Canto LIII, cited in Kuberski, Philip, *A Calculus of Ezra Pound: Vocations of the American Sign* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 1992) p.173
[10] Goldman, Jane, *Modernism, 1910-1945: Image to Apocalypse* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004) p.35
[11] ibid. p.34
[12] ibid. p.33

Bennett and Mrs. Brown," was first published in the literary review section of the *New York Evening Post* on 17th November 1923, then reproduced for the *Nation and Athenaeum* on 1st December 1923, before appearing in Eliot's *Criterio*n as "Character in Fiction" in July 1924. Eliot's "Tradition and the Individual Talent" was published initially in two instalments for *The Egoist* in September and December 1919. Their appearance in publications now identified as modernist magazines before their amalgamation into collective volumes, signals the experimental and dialogical nature of modernist thought processes, as well as to the importance of the form of the magazine during this time.

In "Echoes of the Jazz Age," F. Scott Fitzgerald asks, "May one offer in exhibit the year 1922!"[13] believing that this particular year most dramatically represented the modern spirit and the extent of the progress of the modern aesthetics. For Fitzgerald, 1922 was the year which produced the most powerful creations of the "nervous energy stored up and unexpended during the war."[14] Fitzgerald is not alone in his referencing this particular year. 1922 has been acknowledged as the *annus mirabilis* of modernism — the year of wonders which saw the publication of many of the era's most definitive texts as well as the first issue of T. S. Eliot's own literary magazine, *The Criterion*. Among the most notable of the works published during 1922 were Woolf's[15] *Jacobs Room*, Fitzgerald's[16] *The Beautiful and the Damned*, Katherine Mansfield's *The Garden Party and Other Stories*, Willa Cather's *One of Ours*, Edith Sitwell's poetry collection entitled *Façade*, Eliot's *The Waste Land* and most prominently, Joyce's *Ulysses*. The effect of the publication of *Ulysses* caused Ezra Pound to write to H. L. Mencken proclaiming: "The Christian Era ended at midnight on Oct. 29-30 of last year. You are now in the year 1 p.s.U. (post scriptum

[13] Fitzgerald, F. Scott, "Echoes of the Jazz Age" cited in West, James, L. W. [ed.] *Fitzgerald: My Lost City, 1920-1940* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007) p.132
[14] ibid. p.130
[15] Interestingly, it was during 1922 that Woolf began work on *Mrs Dalloway in Bond Street*, the short story which would lead to the development of *Mrs Dalloway*, published in 1925.
[16] Fitzgerald based *The Great Gatsby* (1925) on Long Island during the summer of 1922.

Ulysses)"[17] For Pound, the previous epoch ended when Joyce finished writing *Ulysses* and the publishing of the text marked the beginning of a new world. "History is a nightmare from which I am trying to awake"[18] Stephen Dedalus muses in the novel's second episode, and for Pound and many other writers of the era, 1922 marked the awakening.

In *Autobiography*, Dorothy Parker remarked:

> Oh both my shoes are shiny new
>
> And pristine is my hat
>
> My dress is 1922
>
> My life is all like that.[19]

and in so doing, highlighted the correlation between art and everyday culture — in the form of fashion. Parker references the liberation experienced by women's clothing during the 1920s and identifies that life itself seemed to be going through the same revolutionary rebirth. Remarks like those of Parker, and indeed Fitzgerald, about the dynamism of the 'twenties "register [...] a new social and cultural world of which the new [literary] works were merely a part."[20] This matter of modernism's place within "the new world," leads Whitworth to argue that "modernism is not so much a thing as a set of responses to problems posed by the conditions of modernity."[21]Whitworth understands the work of the modernists as centrally concerned with attempting to comprehend "their own newness and their relation to their social context."[22] Approaching modernism in this way evokes the words of Virginia Woolf in "Modern Fiction."

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[17] Letter of 22nd March 1922 Eliot, Valerie, Haughton, Hugh & Haffenden, John [eds.] *The Letters of T. S. Eliot: Volume 1: 1898-1922* (Yale: Yale University Press: 2011) p.625
[18] Joyce, James, *Ulysses* [1922] (London: Penguin Classics, 2000) p.42
[19] Parker, Dorothy "Autobiography" 1926
Sourced from: http://www.newstatesman.com/culture/culture/2012/04/year-roared accessed on 12th March 2014
[20] North, Michael, *Reading 1922: A Return to the Scene of the Modern* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999) p.4
[21] Whitworth, Michael, H. [ed.] *Modernism* (London: Blackwell Publishing, 2007) p.3
[22] ibid. p.4

When Woolf writes that it is the job of the modern novelist to "attempt to come closer to life and to preserve more sincerely and exactly what interests and moves them"[23] she is encouraging them to thus "discard convention" and embark on a new path of progress that has been influenced by social, cultural and historical events. The "spirit of change"[24] which was motivating artistic and literary production in this period was also what motivated Dorothy Todd — the new editor of British *Vogue*. Todd's editorship, which began in 1922, marked the beginning of *Vogue's* own annus mirabilis. This thesis will demonstrate how Todd's *Vogue* "encapsulated the zeitgeist of the time and [revealed] the many facets of modernism."[25] Todd's representation of modernism was an holistic one — she presented the innovations in literature, art and music alongside the developing fashions in clothing. Todd realised that "the time had come to talk of many things"[26] and that a fashion magazine could no longer only confine itself to the presentation of the fashions of the body. The dynamic, intellectual and aesthetic cultural climate of the 1920s revolved around the idea of progression. In her version of *Vogu*e, this progression came in the form of a "plea"[27] for the "civilisation in the minds"[28] of readers. "If you absorb *Vogue* regularly issue by issue" ran an advertisement in the issue of Late October 1923, "you gradually become imbued with the *Vogue* idea and consciously you grow wise."[29] The "*Vogue* idea" centred on a presentation of the fashions of the body alongside a presentation of the "fashions of the mind."[30] The "novelty and daring of this method" [31] — which Lachmansingh has identified as *Vogue's* "hybridised atmosphere"[32] — marks not only a radical overhaul in terms of the magazine's content, but also a destabilizing of the traditional boundaries between high-brow and low-brow art forms.

[23] Woolf, Virginia, "Modern Fiction" [1925] cited in Kime-Scott, Bonnie, [ed.] *The Gender of Modernism: A Critical Anthology* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990) p.631
[24] Anonymous, "Contents Page" *Vogue*, Early April 1925 p.xiv
[25] Lachmansingh, Sandhya, Kimberly, *"Fashions of the Mind:" Modernism and British Vogue under the Editorship of Dorothy Todd,* M.A, University of Birmingham, 2010 p.2
[26] Anonymous "The Next Four Numbers of *Vogue* " *Vogue*, 15th September 1916 p.23
[27] Flinders, Polly, "A Plea for a Renaissance" *Vogue*, Late April 1925 p.65
[28] Moody, A. D. cited in Bell, Quentin, *Bloomsbury* (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson Ltd, 1968) p.11
[29] Advertisement, "If you absorb *Vogue* regularly [...]" *Vogue*, Late October 1923 p.73
[30] Mortimer, Raymond, "The Fashions of the Mind" *Vogue*, Early February 1924 p.49
[31] Cumberland, Gerald*, "Façade* A New Entertainment" *Vogue*, Early July 1923 p.36
[32] Lachmansingh, Sandhya, Kimberly, *"Fashions of the Mind:" Modernism and British Vogue under the Editorship of Dorothy Todd,* M.A, University of Birmingham, 2010 p.48

Christopher Reed has acknowledged that because of "condescending stereotypes about fashion magazines," *Vogue* has "slipped from critical view." This research will emphasise that the fashion content of *Vogue* was not simply an obstacle to Todd's presentation of more traditional forms of high culture, but a part of this commentary. The revolution that fashion was experiencing during the 1920s revealed the same "spirit of change" which was fuelling contemporary cultural production.

The term "civilisation in the mind"[33] has been chosen to encapsulate what I believe to have been Todd's aim for her version of British *Vogue*. The term originates in the work of A. D. Moody which examines the character and motivations of Bloomsbury. In arguing that the group's "concern was all for the civilisation in the mind,"[34] Moody suggests that they were unconcerned about "the more practical problems of governing and civilising."[35] What interests me is the application of the word "civilised" itself. From its inception in New York in 1892, *Vogue* was primarily concerned with matters of taste and civilisation. Its opening manifesto declared its dedication to "society, fashion and the ceremonial side of life."[36] When these three aspects were observed and followed according to the dictates of taste, the leisured lady reader would represent the epitome of what it meant to be "civilised." An application of Moody's term serves to emphasise the change British Vogue experienced during the editorship of Dorothy Todd: previously known for its display of all things to do with circulating in civilised, fashionable high-society, Todd's *Vogue* was concerned with not only promoting the current mode in fashion, but also with promoting a dialogue between the leading literary and artistic minds of the day. This approach demonstrated to readers that civilisation was not only an outward display of wealth — through her pages, Todd sought to enrich the minds of her readers, making them aware of the most current ways of considering the arts and acknowledging the “spirit of change.” Dorothy

[33] Moody, A. D. cited in Bell, Quentin, *Bloomsbury* (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson Ltd, 1968) p.11
[34] ibid.
[35] ibid.
[36] *Vogue's* opening manifesto cited in Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz,1954) p.23

Todd regarded the civilisation of readers as increasingly more accomplishable through the study and appreciation of culture. In the same way in which she presented the fashions of the body alongside the "fashions of the mind" Todd began a civilisation process that was concerned with not only civilising the character and behaviour of readers, but civilising their minds towards an understanding of modernism.

ii " Acquainted thoroughly with *Vogue* policy and format"[37]: Thesis Content

Scholarly work has already investigated the transformation *Vogue* experienced during the years of Dorothy Todd's editorship between 1922 and 1926. This thesis will not only add to this examination, but will also present the case for *Vogue's* original role within the history of modernism. Chapter one of this research attempts to establish the context for the birth and growth of *Vogue* in America and subsequently in England. The presentation of *Vogue's* early history will reveal what in particular motivated the publication of the magazine and how it was different from other female fashion magazines. Understanding *Vogue's* context also demonstrates the extent of Dorothy Todd's rebelliousness in terms of her choice of content for the magazine during the years of her editorship. As well as examining *Vogue's* history, this chapter will also consider the histories and roles of *Vogue's* publishing contemporaries in terms of their own presentation of fashion and approaches to readership, advertising and circulation. Understanding these approaches also reveals the extent of *Vogue's* distinction and the difficulty surrounding its definition as a mass market magazine. Finally this chapter has aimed to outline what is significant about the form of the magazine; in particular, its relationship to readership and the benefits of its transient nature in providing the opportunity for dialogue amongst both contributors and readers. Considering what features define a magazine, in my view, really aids an understanding of how magazines came to be ideal sites for the expression and dissemination of modernism.

[37] Woolman Chase, Edna & Chase, Ilka, *Always in Vogue*. (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1954) p.132

Chapter two is concerned with identifying the similarities and dialogues between Todd's *Vogue* and modernist magazines. The chapter aims to provide sufficient examples which support the idea that during Todd's editorship, *Vogue* became increasingly involved in the dialogue that was growing between the various modernist magazines. Throughout this chapter, I argue that it is *Vogue's* pre-established identity that prohibits a contemporary acknowledgement of its inclusion within this particular periodical culture. During the 1920s however, the presentation of fashion which *Vogue* was renowned for was not by any means an obstacle to Todd's presentation of literary and artistic modernism. Rather, Todd's dual presentation, showcased fashion as part of modernism. This chapter will also reveal how articles from modernist magazines, such as *The Dial* and *The Athenaeum,* were also beginning to explore the role of fashion and the commodity culture epitomised by *Vogue* as part of the narrative of cultural modernism.

Vogue, between 1922 and 1926 was not a fashion paper. Any study of *Vogue,* however, cannot ignore the presence and importance of fashion. Within Todd's *Vogue* fashion content was diluted — it was mixed with other cultural forms. Todd did not "eschew" fashion content as she was accused of having done, but it did not stand as *Vogue's* only raison d'être. Chapter three investigates Dorothy Todd's approach to fashion and her ideological application of fashion within modernist cultures. Acknowledging the context of fashion during the 1920s is vital to this approach, as it reveals the revolution being experienced in terms of style and how women's bodies were being clothed. The innovations in fashion design freed women's bodies from the restrictions of the past, in the same way in which the new found freedom in expression was unleashing literature from the confines of traditional narratives. This chapter will exemplify how freedoms in fashion and freedoms in artistic and creative expression were both being represented and promoted on the pages of *Vogue.*

Chapter four, concerned with the personality, passions and story of *Vogue's* lost editor, Dorothy Todd, takes its title partially from the seminal *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* by Andreas Huyssen and in the chapter "Mass Culture as Woman: Modernism's Other" in particular. Drawing upon the "other" invoked in this title, really emphasises the relative invisibility of Todd within both histories of magazines and histories of modernism. In the introduction to the anthology edited by Bonnie Kime-Scott in the late 1980s, a web of association was drawn up to illustrate the extent of the connections between modernist artists and writers. From this tangled diagram, as well as the many other similar studies which investigate the inter-associations of key figures during the 1920s, Dorothy Todd is absent. Chapter four reveals how Todd's presence on the socio-cultural scene of 1920s London should not translate to an absence on the academic scene of study of mass market magazines and literary modernism. I have aimed in this chapter to highlight the importance and role of Todd during this revolutionary era. I have sought to amalgamate all that is currently known about this enigmatic figure and use this micro biography to explain why she chose to steer *Vogue* in the direction she did between 1922 and 1926.

The final chapter entitled, "A Room of their Own: The Literary Aesthetic of the Female Modernists in *Vogue,*" considers the work of two prominent female modernists and one comparatively unknown writer. Editorials from Virginia Wool, Dorothy Richardson and Mary Hutchinson —writing under the pseudonym of 'Polly Flinders'—are considered here in order to highlight the role played by the female writer in *Vogue* under Todd. These contributions reveal how Todd's *Vogue* facilitated a new space for feminine and feminist aesthetics, thereby providing a much needed site for the expression of a new kind of female writing. The provision of such space to such a cause, establishes *Vogue* as an editorial version of the "room of one's own" which Woolf believed was necessary for the creation of successful works of art. Reading Woolf's material — her *Vogue* article "Indiscretions" as well as the polemic, "A Room of One's Own" and

the modernist treatise, "Mr. Bennett and Mrs. Brown" — offers new ways to approach Woolf and her attitudes to writing for mass market publications. Richardson's lesser studied "Women and the Future" article reveals the extent of Todd's willingness to incorporate innovative, feminist writings into her magazine as well as the enthusiasm of such established writers to utilise this space to express dynamic and serious ideas. Polly Flinders — who published a total of eight articles for *Vogue* between Late December 1923 and Early January 1926 — cements the notion that the presentation of feminist ideas was central to Todd's *Vogue*. Such articles as those chosen as examples in this chapter reveal the extent of the change *Vogue* experienced in editorial content under the editorship of Dorothy Todd. Before I begin to consider Todd's *Vogue,* it is important to first attempt to reach an understanding of the phenomena of modernism and to identify the relationship between modernism with mass culture.

iii "Weapon of massive consumption"[38]: Modernism and Mass Culture.

[39]

Figure 3

[38] Allen, Lily "The Fear" January 2009.

[39] "Marilyn on Long Island (New York) Reading James Joyce's *Ulysses* " (1955) Photograph by Eve Arnold. In a letter dated 20th July 1993, Arnold reconstructs the circumstances surrounding the taking of this photograph. "We reached on a beach on Long Island. She was visiting Norman Rosten the poet. As far as I remember [...] I asked her what she was reading when I went to pick her up (I was trying to get an idea of how she spent her time. She said she kept *Ulysses* in her car and had been reading it for a long time. She said she loved the sound of it and would read it aloud to herself to try to make sense of it — but she found it hard going. She couldn't read it consecutively. When we stopped at a local playground to photograph she got out the book and started to read while I loaded the film. So, of course, I photographed her." Eve Arnold in Kershner, R. B. [ed.] *Joyce and Popular Culture* (Florida: University Press of Florida, 1996) p.174

The term modernism first "came into survey in the late 1920s, when it was influentially used in *A Survey of Modernist Poetry* (1927) by the poets Laura Riding and Robert Graves."[40] Interestingly, the term was utilised two years prior to this in the Early October 1925 issue of British *Vogue.* The word appears in a caption underneath a portrait by Steichen of Madam Agnes, which declares her to have "first sponsored modernism in dress."[41] There are also more than fifty uses of the word "modern" within article titles — not including those relating to fashion specifically — in *Vogue* between Early January 1922 and Late December 1926, alongside applications of terms such as "unrealism"[42] "cubist"[43]"machine age"[44] "dada"[45] and "smart set."[46] The vocabulary one is confronted with on the pages of *Vogue* during this time is not one that is typically associated with mass market magazines, nor specifically, mass market *fashion* magazines. The contents of the magazine between 1922 and 1926 reveal how *Vogue* became a forum for the promotion of a dialogue of progression and innovation akin to that of the modernist magazines. It is thus important to pay an amount of attention to modernism's involvement with products of mass culture — represented in this case by British *Vogue*.

The issue of *Vogue* of Late March 1924 contains an article entitled "Artists and the Influence of Fashion." Although this article is anonymous, its content strongly suggests the authorial hand of Dorothy Todd herself. In this article the writer argues that works of art, as well as fashionable clothing are created out of a "reaction from existing phenomena."[47] In 1922, the most encompassing and dominant of the "existing phenomena" was that of the mass media. 1922 saw the founding of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), the arrival of the first radio to the White House, the launch of more than five hundred radio stations in the United States. After this

[40] Beasley, Rebecca, "Modernism" Sourced from: http://writersinspire.podcasts.ox.ac.uk/content/modernism accessed on 1st July 2014
[41] Anonymous, "Madame Agnès" *Vogue*, Early October 1925 p.60
[42] Anonymous, "The Triumph of Unrealism" *Vogue*, Late September 1923 p.47
[43] Anonymous, "The Cubist School" *Vogue*, Early January 1926 p.50
[44] Anonymous, "Fernand Léger — The Painter of the Machine Age" *Vogue*, Early October 1925 p.79
[45] Anonymous, "The dada masks of Hiler" *Vogue*, Late January 1925 p.49
[46] Anonymous, "The Summer of the Smart Set" *Vogue*, Late August 1924 p.50
[47] Anonymous, "Artists and the Influence of Fashion" *Vogue*, Late March 1924 p.40

installation, came the sending of the first facsimile over a telephone line, and the invention and patenting of the mechanism for recording sound over film. In this year when "the modern world was coming of age"[48] an increasing number of magazines were being launched and sold to an increasing number of readers. The growth of the influence of mass culture has been previously viewed as causing "a concomitant decline of culture and civilisation." This view thus regards modernism as being fearful of the effects of mass culture and positions modernists as haunted by

> nightmares of being devoured by mass culture through co-option, commodification, and the "wrong" kind of success [was] the constant fear of the modernist artist, who tries to stakeout his territory by fortifying the boundaries between genuine art and inauthentic mass culture.[49]

An awareness of these proposed dichotomies is necessary to this study of British *Vogue* magazine, as Todd's inclusion of modernist artists and writers reveals the extent of the destabilizing of such boundaries. The clear division between modernism and mass culture is now considered a somewhat archaic argument, with the distinction having been identified as more blurred. Modernism has since been identified to have been "profoundly implicated in the commodification of culture energised"[50] by the phenomena of mass culture. The modernism/mass culture dichotomy has been identified by Reed as a retrospective construction:

> The intervening eighty years have imposed [...] thick sediments of cliché and presumption over the rich soil of the 1920s, a remarkably inventive era when the hierarchies now associated with modernism had yet to acquire their authority. To

[48] Sourced from: http://www.newstatesman.com/culture/culture/2012/04/year-roared
accessed on 14th June 2014
[49] Huyssen, Andreas, *Mass Culture as Woman: Modernism's Other* (1986)
Sourced from: http://www.mariabuszek.com/kcai/PoMoSeminar/Readings/HuyssenMassCult.pdf
[50] Nowin, Michael , "Michael North, *Reading 1922: A Return to the Scene of the Modern*. A Review" in College Literature, Volume 28, Number 2 p.218-220 (West Chester: West Chester University Press, 2001) p.218

> attempt to return to the 1920s on its own terms is to discover a culture flourishing with many of the transgressive pleasures — of wit, mass culture, self-conscious performativity — that postmodernism later claimed for itself in contrast to the ossified modernism of the intervening years.[51]

The time when Huyssen's dichotomy between modernism and mass culture was accepted has long been over. The claim that mass culture was modernism's "hidden subtext"[52] has also faltered. As the example of *Vogue* will reveal in the upcoming chapters, the relationship was much less "hidden" and a lot more mutually beneficial during the 1920s.

The label of mass market magazine which is affixed to *Vogue* is, however, somewhat troublesome. Chapter one will fully present the ideologies behind the founding of *Vogue* in the 1890s as well as the particular policies of audience instigated by Cond*é* Nast. An understanding of these principles reveals how *Vogue* really attempted to distance itself from the label of mass market magazine, in that it aimed not only to attract a certain, wealthy, privileged readership, but to "rigorously exclude"[53] all other social groups. *Vogue* was different from other women's magazines such as *Woman's Weekly* in that it presented itself as a niche, class publication, exclusively for those who lived the lifestyle presented in its pages. Although the ideologies behind the publication of *Vogue* veer it away from conventional definitions of the mass market magazine, its circulation figures, in comparison to those of little magazines, coterie papers and modernist magazines, reveal the extent of *Vogue's* own internal contradictions.

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[51] Reed, Christopher, "A *Vogue* Which Dare Not Speak Its Name: Sexual Subculture During the Editorship of Dorothy Todd, 1922-26" in *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture,* Volume 10, Issues 1 & 2 (London: Berg, 2006) pp.39-72 p.41

[52] Huyssen, Andreas, *Mass Culture as Woman: Modernism's Other* (1986)
Sourced from: http://www.mariabuszek.com/kcai/PoMoSeminar/Readings/HuyssenMassCult.pdf

[53] Angeletti, N. & Olivia, A. *In "Vogue": The Illustrated History of the World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine* (London: Rizzoli International Publications, 2006) p.7

The famous of image of Marilyn Monroe — mass culture's most powerful icon — reading James Joyce's *Ulysses* — the text which more than any other defines the era of literary modernism — has been chosen to visualise the relationship between mass culture and modernism. This relationship was present some thirty years before the taking of this particular photograph. Dorothy Todd was presenting the work of literary and artistic modernists in the pages of her *Vogue*, but she was also presenting the personalities themselves. Through the publishing of critical and creative work, alongside an identification of the creators of these works, Todd showcased modernism through the methods associated with mass culture. The attempt to make her contributors well known to her readers demonstrated the extent to which Todd was intent on promoting the dissemination of the modernist ethos and appreciation for its new works. This attempt to make celebrities out of her contributors, further blurred the boundaries between "high brow modernism and low brow fashion"[54] as the contributors themselves were also aware. "If Eliot chose to play the game of fashion he might easily aspire to the intellectual dictatorship of Mayfair""[55] exclaimed Richard Aldington in his Early April 1925 article, "T. S. Eliot: Poet and Critic." Further examples throughout this thesis will reveal the involvement of modernism with mass culture on the pages of Dorothy Todd's *Vogue* between 1922 and 1926. The account which will be given in chapter four surrounding the circumstances of Todd's dismissal will further reveal that it was rather mass culture who feared the injection and dissemination of modernism into everyday life.

[54] Lachmansingh, Sandhya, Kimberly, *"Fashions of the Mind:" Modernism and British Vogue under the Editorship of Dorothy Todd,* M.A, University of Birmingham, 2010 p.36
[55] Aldington, Richard, "T. S. Eliot: Poet and Critic" *Vogue*, Early April 1925 p.71

Chapter One

"Turning Over New Leaves":
A History of *Vogue* and her "glossy" antecedents.

[56]

Figure 4

[56]Masereel, Frans, "The Daily Newspaper," *Vanity Fair*, September 1924 p.58

1.1 Chapter Introduction

The image on the opening page of this chapter, "The Daily Newspaper" by the French artist and graphic designer, Frans Masereel, appeared in *Vanity Fair* in September 1924. The image, detailing an engrossed reading public, depicts the real life explosion of periodical culture that occurred towards the end of the nineteenth century. Three factors combined to create an explosion of mass market magazines in England — the availability of affordable paper, specialised printing techniques which had been developed during the Industrial Revolution and the Education Act of 1870.[57] The high circulations of these magazines in turn contributed to the expansion of capitalist commodity culture. The audience was persuaded to buy goods not only through editorial contents but also through the increasingly powerful influence of advertising. *Mitchell's Newspaper Press Directory*[58] lists 1,764 periodicals in existence in Britain in 1864, and documents a dramatic increase to 4,914 by 1901. On the other side of the Atlantic, a reading public of eighteen million Americans had access to 4,400 magazines. American periodical culture also benefitted from the more extensive possibilities afforded by expansive advertising revenue. The period of the magazine boom, which reached its zenith between 1880 and 1900, witnessed the naissance of a plethora of different magazines and journals which came to be divided into several categories. These included; the penny weeklies, the illustrated society weeklies, the sixpenny monthlies, women's weeklies, halfpenny comics and the dominant monthlies in America. In the midst of the numerous conceptions, births and deaths listed on Mitchell's census of magazines,

[57] The Education Act of 1870, drafted by the Liberal MP, William Forster, was the "first piece of legislation to deal specifically with the provision of education in Britain. It demonstrated a commitment to provision on a national level." Introduced on 17th February, the act provided the framework for the compulsory schooling of children aged between 5 and 12 years, which became necessary in 1880. Information sourced from: http://www.parliament.uk/about/livingheritage/transformingsociety/livinglearning/school/overview/1870educationac accessed on 6th July 2013

[58] Mitchell, Charles, *The Newspaper Press Directory: Correlated Annually* (London: Benn & Mitchell, 1947) Sourced from: https://archive.org/details/newspaperpressdi00lond accessed on 7th July 2013

was one particular paper which would not only outlive the majority of all the others, but would become the "world's most famous fashion magazine."[59]

This opening chapter must start by explaining that *Vogue* is not —nor ever will it be — a mass market magazine in the true sense of the term. By this, I do not mean to suggest that it is entirely distinct from mass market magazines, but rather to highlight how both its proprietor and second owner intended its audience to be specialised rather than all-inclusive. In the lexicon of fashion, Turnure and Nast required a readership that was bespoke rather than mass produced. On the subject of differences in readership created by the different types of magazines, Theodore Peterson observes:

> When the last decade of the nineteenth century opened, Americans could buy periodicals representing a wide range of specialized interests. [...] Yet the average citizen was not a magazine reader. Available to him at the end of the scale were the quality monthly magazines — so called because they addressed an audience well above average in income and intellectual curiosity — magazines like *Harper's* and *Scribner's*, priced beyond his means and edited beyond his scope of interests. At the other end of the scale were the cheap weeklies, the sentimental story papers, the miscellanies. Between there were few magazines of popular price and general appeal.[60]

It is this group of "quality magazines" to which *Vogue* is most often aligned and thus whose history I shall pay particular attention to charting in the upcoming contextual study. Interestingly, Peterson also acknowledges the quality monthlies' scope for appeal to a higher "intellectual

[59] Angeletti, N. & Olivia, A. *In "Vogue": The Illustrated History of the World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine* (London: Rizzoli International Publications, 2006)
[60] Peterson, Theodore, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* [1964] (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1975) p.2

curiosity". This aspect will be of importance in my later account of *Vogue* as a magazine that not only documented the fashions of the body, but also the fashions of thought.

I will begin by documenting the founding and early history of *Vogue* in America firstly under the proprietor and owner, Arthur Turnure and then exploring the policies implemented by the more famous Condé Nast. An account of the historical foundations of *Vogue* is necessary because no comprehensive account has been given before. Histories of *Vogue,* like the first editions of the magazine itself, tend to be "largely pictorial"[61] and fail to record all the facts. Interested parties — be they academics from within the sphere of publications, students of art and design, photographers searching for inspiration, researchers of the media or simply the curious fan — possess no complete, accurate authority; no one point of definitive expertise. Without this, it has been difficult to gain a complete and accurate picture of the processes that combined to create *Vogue* throughout its rich heritage, and thus difficult to fully comprehend the *Vogue* which contemporary readers experience today. Furthermore, an understanding of *Vogue's* uniqueness, its founding ideologies, system of advertising and its established dominance in the overstocked shelves of women's fashion magazines is pivotal to an understanding of the anomalous period under the editorship of Dorothy Todd between 1922 and 1926 — which is the central focus of this research. It will thus be necessary to explore the origins of the British edition of *Vogue* particularly with regards to the earliest issues and the work carried out by its initial editors. Understanding the history of the magazine itself not only highlights the extent of the changes instigated by Todd but also helps to establish the necessity for a specific methodology for the study of *Vogue,* one that differs dramatically from the holistic approach required for the study of periodicals in general. There are relatively few other examples within the discipline of periodical study where accepted dichotomies between mass and selective readerships, male and female audiences, mass and minority culture, need to be viewed as somewhat more transient and

[61] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.23

blurred. The histories I shall provide of the two editions of *Vogue* — American and English —will demonstrate how such established dichotomies are in actual fact, somewhat more imprecise.

The critical study of magazine centres on the idea of the text as a "methodological field and site of interdisciplinary study [...] a place where meanings are contested and made."[62] According to this definition — instigated by Roland Barthes and advanced upon by Margaret Beetham — the magazine thus becomes a literary configuration and the individual periodical becomes a literary text, available for close reading, being commented upon and understood in terms of its structure, cultural significance, context and language as well as its specialised semantic conventions. This approach has led scholars to study magazines in much the same way as scholars of more traditional forms of literature study the novel. This principle has been looked at more recently in the work of Robert. L. Patten, who seeks to place the mode of the magazine alongside the definition of the traditional form of the book. He initially bases his argument on the *Oxford English Dictionary's* definition of such a form as 'a printed treatise or series of treatises, occupying several sheets of paper or other substance fastened together, so as to compose a material whole.'[63] Patten continues in his quest to align the periodical form alongside the book by relating it to the nature of its content in general:

> books are sheets of paper on which something self-contained and internally coherent has been printed: all the printed material relates in some way to the book's title and 'treatise,' [...] finally, many books are defined by being authored, or edited, by one, or more than one, person.[64]

[62] Beetham, M. *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1996) p.5
[63] Patten, Robert, L. "Authorship, Gender and Power in Victorian Culture" in Brake, L. Bell. B & Finklestein. D [eds.] *Nineteenth-Century Media and the Construction of Identities* (London: Palgrave, 2000) p.137
[64] ibid.

Pattern's argument is based on the notion that it is the writers, or contributors, who enable the periodical to be more closely aligned to the form of the book because, once bound together, their articles no longer stand separately, but become united, creating the cohesive whole of the publication. It is perhaps the version of *Vogue* that came to exist under Dorothy Todd that really demonstrates the extent of the possibility that a magazine can be likened significantly to the book. Each separate article published on the pages of Todd's *Vogue* had the intention of both promoting and disseminating the various cultural strands of modernism.

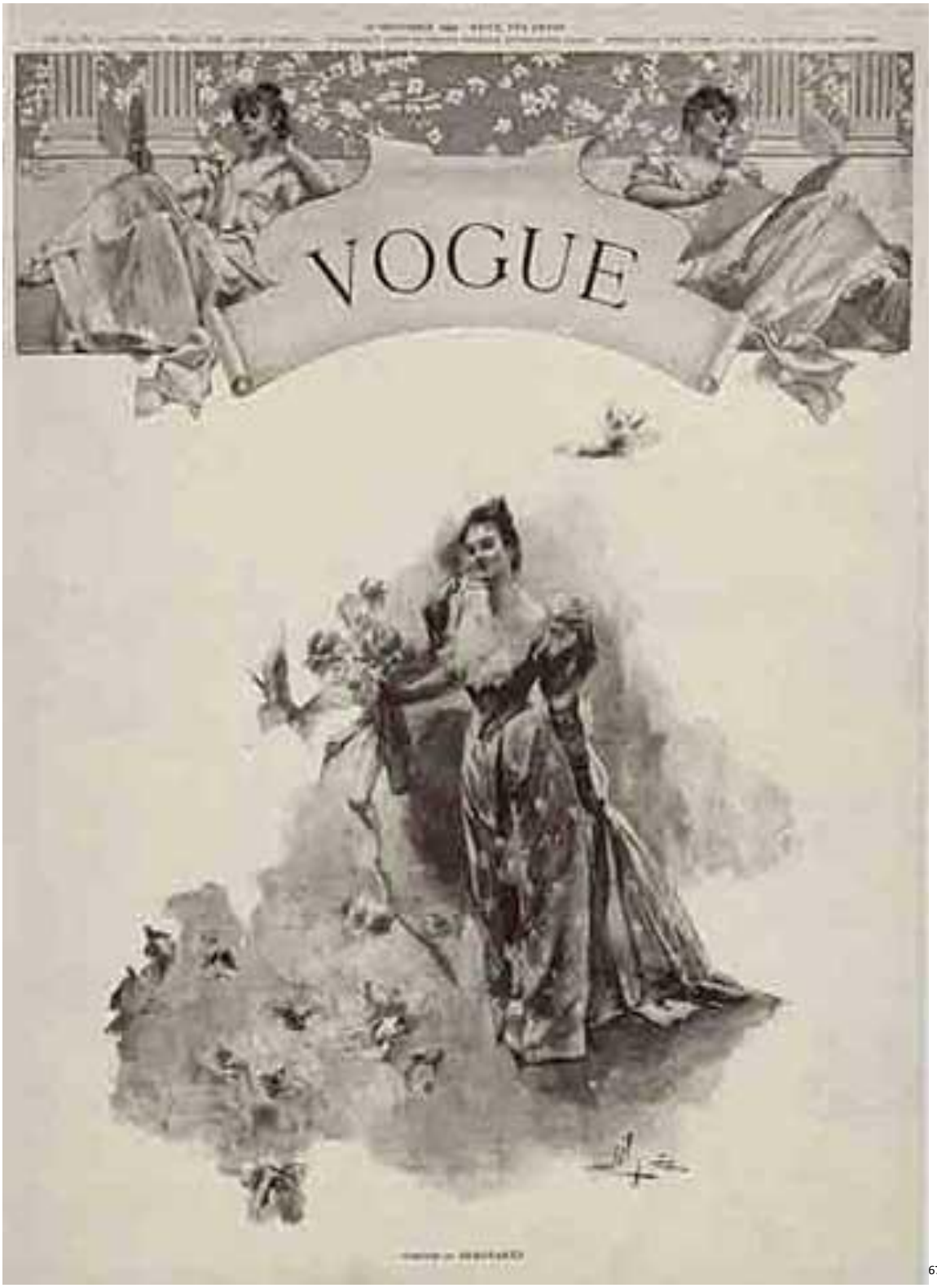
1.2 "Buy Nothing Until You Buy Vogue": The World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine

Once upon a time in old New York, a man of taste unleashed his daughter into Society. Like any perfect debutante, Vogue — as she was called — was pretty, educated, cultured and refined, and as is thus the case with such aristocratic young ladies, much in demand. "One of the principal debutantes of the week will be *Vogue* who will be introduced next Saturday under the chaperonage of Arthur Turnure,"[65] heralded the daily press in New York before the first edition of *Vogue* appeared on the newsstands across America on December 17th 1892. In this opening number of *Vogue* the overall aims of Turnure's magazine were set out:

> The definite object [of this enterprise] is the establishment of a dignified, authentic journal of society, fashion and the ceremonial side of life, that is to be, for the present, mainly pictorial.[66]

Published weekly and costing ten cents, Turnure's *Vogue* was primarily concerned with society and fashion, but also published an amount of literary content in the form of fiction and poetry.

[65] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz,1954) p.23
[66] ibid.



[67]

Figure 5

[67] The first edition of *Vogue* appeared on newsstands in New York on 17th December 1892. The cover illustration was drawn by A.B Wenzel . The masthead is decorated with two classical female figures representing tradition, classical beauty and opulence. This design, instigated by art director Henry McVickar was utilised intermittently until 1906.

The most thorough account of the early years of *Vogue's* life can be sourced from Edna Woolman-Chase's autobiography, *Always in Vogue* which reveals valuable information regarding the beginnings and the developments of the magazine. In 1895, at the age of eighteen after moving to New York from rural New Jersey, Edna Woolman Alloway was employed at *Vogue* as a temporary member of staff within the circulations department. As she recalls, this transitory work was to last for sixty years until her retirement as editor-in-chief in 1951, the position she had held formally since her name first appeared on the *Vogue* masthead of the issue of February 1st 1914.

 [68]

Figure 6

[68] Edna Woolman Alloway was born in Ashbury Park, New Jersey in 1877. Shortly after her birth, her parents' divorced and she was then raised by her Grandparents. In 1898, she married merchant mariner, Francis Dane Chase and the couple had one daughter, Ilka in 1900. The Chases' separated in 1912. In 1921, Edna married Richard Newton but remained as "Woolman Chase" for professional reasons. When Nast took over at *Vogue* in 1909, Chase was one of the only members of staff from the Turnure years that he continued to employ, and she officially becomes *Vogue's* editor in February 1914. In November of the same year, she produced "Fashion Fete" an event "to benefit Allied war widows and orphans and to promote American fashion. Her creation set the industry standard a century later: models walking the runway." In 1935 Chase was named as a Chevalier de la Legion d'Honneur for her contribution to the fashion industry in France. Edna's husband, Richard Newton was diagnosed with cancer in 1948 and died in 1950. The following year, Edna retired from her position as editor in chief of *Vogue*. She wrote her memoir, alongside her daughter Ilka in 1954, and died in March 1957 whilst holdaying in Florida with her daughter and her son-in-law. Image sourced from Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz,1954) Unnumbered Insert.

Always in Vogue, documents how the magazine was initially inclusive of both a male and female readership with feminine features such as “On her Dressing Table” — which continued to have been a regular feature well into Nast's takeover — running alongside articles relating to gentlemanly pursuits and masculine adornments:

> The magazine carried a great deal of fiction and poetry and there were many more drawings than photographs but the departments "Seen in the Shops", "Smart Fashions for Limited Incomes," "On Her Dressing Table," "The Well Dressed Man" had their inception in the earliest issues. [...] Men and sports played a large part in *Vogue's* early make-up [...] The editorial thinking was that it was a magazine for ladies and gentlemen, not just a women's fashion magazine.[69]

Chase also acknowledges the initial chaotic nature of a magazine in its embryonic stages of early development, recalling:

> The make-up too had a certain nonchalance about it. A page otherwise devoted to fiction might be broken up with a couple of photographs of the house of a socially prominent couple, and we once illustrated the love story of a girl on an army post with drawings of plump, belligerent trout on hooks. The idea that an illustration might plausibly complement the text had yet to gain a footing. [...]. Staff members inserted samples of whatever struck their individual fancy.[70]

Despite the apparent disorder of a magazine still attempting to define itself through its contents, Woolman Chase seeks to define why *Vogue* was capable of emerging from its adolescent years into a more focused and determined publication:

[69] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz,1954) p.24-26
[70] ibid. p.25 & 39

> In spite of what, in its early days, now seems to me to have been a distinctly amateur quality and perhaps for that very reason, *Vogue* had a well-bred atmosphere that gave it a social prestige that was never questioned. No publication in America mirrored so faithfully the society and fashions of the 'nineties, their inanities as well as their substance, their virtues as well as their follies.[71]

Perhaps, the main reason for *Vogue's* success in disseminating this air of exclusivity was the involvement of such a particular class of people:

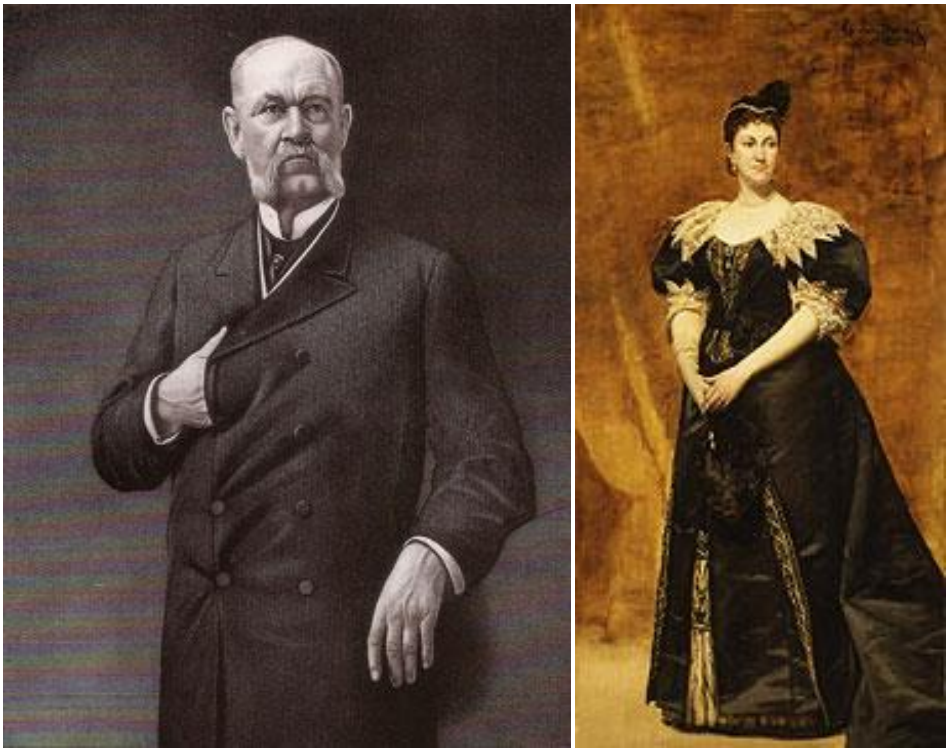
> In the early days *Vogue's* staff was small and the atmosphere around the office informal and non-professional. The regular contributors were recruited largely from the personal friends of the proprietor and were chosen more for their social standing and knowledge of good form than for their literary repute.[72]

The literary repute of the editorial pieces then, was instantaneously ranked as secondary in relation to the repute and social standing of those involved with their creation. Having established that the upper echelons of society were crucial to *Vogue's* establishment on the newsstands of America, it seems appropriate that the two events in New York city that serve to illustrate the context for the birth of *Vogue*, were both social occasions of the upmost importance. Separated by eighteen years, *The Bouncer's Ball* of 1874 and the *Four Hundred Ball* of 1892 stand as exemplars of the divisions between the old New York elite and the rising dominance of the nouveaux riche. These two events also represent the shifts in how social prominence was to be defined "henceforth in terms of millions [of dollars] rather than lineage."[73] *The Bouncers' Ball*

[71] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz,1954) p.39
[72] ibid. p.25
[73] Mrs John King Van Rensselaer cited in Seebohm, Caroline, The *Man Who Was Vogue: The Life and Times of Condé Nast* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Limited, 1982) p.40

represented the dramatic shift away from "aristocratic exclusivity"[74] within the social sphere as "newcomers" — colloquially known as "Bouncers" — attended alongside the heads of the upper echelons of society. This integration was not taken to lightly and the *Four Hundred Ball* — given in the same year that *Vogue* was also to begin publication — represented the zeal of the "Old Guard to preserve the values of lineage."[75] William Backhouse Astor Junior was a billionaire merchant within the fur trade and the leading aristocratic socialite of the era. His wife, Caroline Webster Schermerhorn Astor was to throw the *Winter Ball* in the Ballroom of the Astor Mansion at 350 Fifth Avenue which could accommodate, at capacity four hundred people, hence serving to explain where the epithet of the "Four Hundred" originated. The number "also represented a [...] limit to the number of individuals that the traditional aristocracy would be willing to accept into its nucleus."[76] Those that made the guest list then could thus claim to be the most noble and refined patricians of the city. Further, the Ball represented the agreed need to "set an example and encourage a sense of unity among the leading social figures of New York"[77] and to defend the old standards of refinement, taste, and morality "nurtured over the years since the British took their own aristocrats home."[78] This desire to preserve these orders was not only to be displayed through the occasion of the Ball but also through an equally concerned public mouthpiece — *Vogue* was to be "the mirror of the Four Hundred"[79] "reflecting their concerns, to report on their activities."[80]

[74] Seebohm, Caroline, The *Man Who Was Vogue: The Life and Times of Condé Nast* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Limited, 1982) p.40
[75] ibid. p.42
[76] Angeletti, N. & Olivia, A. *In "Vogue": The Illustrated History of the World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine* (London: Rizzoli International Publications, 2006) p.7
[77] Seebohm, Caroline, The *Man Who Was Vogue: The Life and Times of Condé Nast* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Limited, 1982) p.42
[78] ibid.
[79] Angeletti, N. & Olivia, A. In *"Vogue": The Illustrated History of the World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine* (London: Rizzoli International Publications,2006) p.8
[80] Seebohm, Caroline, The *Man Who Was Vogue: The Life and Times of Condé Nast* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Limited, 1982) p.42



[81]

Figure 7

[81] William Backhouse Astor Jr, Caroline Webster Schermerhorn Astor and [350 Fifth Avenue. Sourced from: http://www.metmuseum.org/works_of_art/collection_database/european_paintings/mrs_william_astor_caroline_webster_schermerhorn_charles_emile_auguste_carolus_duran/objectview.aspx?collID=11&OID=110000282 accessed on 11th November 2010

Arthur Baldwin Turnure,[82] *Vogue's* proprietor, was not simply concerned with the rising influence of the newly affluent in New York, nor was he purely entrepreneurial in his publication venture. Turnure was also, importantly, himself a part of the Upper Four Hundred — part of the aristocracy[83] — and as such he favoured lineage and taste above all other overt expressions of wealth. He made his allegiances perfectly clear in *Vogue's* inaugural manifesto in December 1892. He wanted his magazine to represent:

> the ceremonial side of life [which] has in the highest degree an aristocracy founded in reason and developed in natural order. It's particular phase, its amusements, its follies, its fitful changes, supply endless opportunities for running comment and occasional rebuke. The ceremonial side of life attracts the sage as well as the debutante, men of affairs as well as the belle. It may be a dinner or it may be a ball, but whatever the function the magazine wielding force is the social idea.[84]

It is clear from this declaration, that *Vogue* was intended to be the fly on the wall insider at the most exclusive events of the season, offering an access and a constant stream of inside information that no other publication that claimed to deal with "society" could offer, mainly due to the fact that "*Vogue* was born with a silver spoon in its mouth,"[85] having a list of shareholders

[82] Turnure was born in New York City in 1857, and after graduating from Princeton University in 1870, practiced as a lawyer before becoming art director for Harper & Brothers. Interestingly, in terms of Turnure's own personal interests and the direction which he was to eventually take with his own magazine, he and eight other similarly minded people, founded the New York Grolier Club in 1884. The club dedicated itself to the "study, collecting and appreciation of books and works on paper, their art, history, production and commerce." Founding *Vogue* in 1892 was the zenith of his professional life and for which he would most famously be remembered. Recording his death in 1906 *Vogue* simply stated: "No mere record of the events in the life of Arthur Turnure can adequately do justice to his character and personality."
Information sourced from: http://www.vogue.com/voguepedia/Arthur_Baldwin_Turnure accessed on 26th June 2012

[83] Aristocracy is defined in the opening editorial of *Vogue* on 17th December 1892 as "the strength which comes from the union of what is best."

[84] Anonymous, "Contents" American *Vogue*, 17th December 1892 unnumbered page

[85] Angeletti, N. & Olivia, A. *In "Vogue": The Illustrated History of the World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine* (London: Rizzoli International Publications, 2006) p.2

akin to the guest list for Lady Astor's Ball.[86] *Vogue* was subsequently obsessed with traditional notions of class and social positioning, discussing in its first editorial the definitive meaning of the "ceremonial side of life" it wanted to depict as the editorial cited below serves to define:

> A foreign critic of American society has said that in no monarchical country is the existence of aristocracy so evident as in the republic of the United States. That with us class distinctions are as finely drawn, social aspirations as pronounced, and snobbishness as prevalent as in any nation that confers titles and ignores the principle of equality. This assertion is undoubtedly true. [...] American society enjoys the distinction of being the most progressive in the world; the most salutary and the most beneficent. It is quick to discern, quick to receive and quick to condemn. It is untrammelled by a degraded and immutable nobility. It has in the highest degree an aristocracy founded in reason and developed in natural order. Its particular phases, its amusements, its follies, its fitful changes, supply endless opportunities for running comment and occasional rebuke.[87]

Histories of magazines seldom offer up a publication that through time has continued to dedicate itself to the initial intentions of its founding fathers. But *Vogue*, it can be argued, is representative of such a magazine. From the outset one is confronted with a magazine that stands for one definitive ideal — taste. Its success is rooted in the steadfastness of upholding this ideal and the constancy of stating its intention to do so. In the issue of December 1895, Turnure writes that *Vogue's* audience comprised of "gentlemen and gentlewomen and that to the requirements of this class its energies and resources shall conform."

[86] There were 250 shareholders in 1892 to financially aid the success of *Vogue*. Among the list of prominent society names were Astor, Stuyvesant, Jay, Whitney, Van Rensselaer, Vanderbilt, Heckscher, Brown, Pell, Lippincott, Dodge, Hewitt, Parish, Cuyler and Ronalds.
[87] Anonymous, "Contents" American *Vogue*, 17th December 1892 unnumbered page

 [88]

Figure 8

There is, however, a further element to *Vogue's* enduring success revealed in the proclamation made by Turnure in the Third Year Anniversary issue of 1985 which identifies "the constant recollection that improvement and development go hand in hand" as one of two "leading ideas that control *Vogue's* career.[89]" I would like to suggest that the *Vogue* of Turnure and its preoccupation with the display of changing society is more akin to the *Vogue* that Todd was to develop in England from 1922 until 1926. Fundamentally this alignment comes about through those involved in the production of the magazine itself. In Turnure's day, there was no other magazine which had the capability to showcase the homes and lifestyles of the most elegant people in society:

[88]Arthur Baldwin Turnure Photographer unknown. Published in *Vogue,* April 26 1906
Sourced from: http://www.vogue.com/voguepedia/ accessed on 27th May 2013
[89] Note the use of the word "career" here. *Vogue* establishes itself as working towards the promotion and upholding of taste.

since the magazine was run by the people in the vanguard of society, it had an advantage over most other journals in the same field. Who else could have got into the new Vanderbilt house at Fifth Avenue and 57th Street and published photographs of its interior? The society snapshots were all of *Vogue's* friends. Notes for the Hostess came fresh from *Vogue's* most recent dinner parties. Designs of what everyone was wearing went straight to *Vogue's* Seamstress. *Vogue*, in short, was the dernier cri of the week, thanks to the people who published it, who happened to know better than anyone else what was going to be accepted by the people who mattered.[90]

[91]

Figure 9

Vogue contributors enlisted by Dorothy Todd, although part of the London modernist "literati" as opposed to the New York "glitterati," were the key to accessing an otherwise inaccessible world. This was a unique selling point that Todd was to nurture in her development of *Vogue* in terms of its inclusion of elements we would now consider to be modernist. She employed the newest, brightest, emerging talents in the spheres of art, music and literature in order to express the shift

[90] Seebohm, Caroline, The *Man Who Was Vogue: The Life and Times of Condé Nast* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Limited, 1982) p.45

[91] Photograph of life inside the *Vogue* offices in 1911/1912. Photograph is of Edna Woolman Chase, Marther Moller, Marie Lyons and Grace Hegger. Sourced from: Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) unnumbered insert.

away from the past the artistic world was experiencing: it was these talented individuals who were to become known as the makers of modernism. Todd's *Vogue* can therefore be said to be doing for the art world what Turnure's *Vogue* was doing for the 'smart' world. More than any other editor, Todd had taken on board the real notions of what *Vogue* was initially intended to be about: "that improvement and development go hand in hand." The world was changing and there was, in the 1920s a need to document and examine these changes. Todd realising this necessity, utilised *Vogue* as a vehicle for displaying and recording this dynamic time by showcasing the words and works of the very people who were promoting these changes. Todd's *Vogue* was also similar to Turnure's *Vogue* in terms of the regular editorial content. Favoured features in the early years of *Vogue's* inception including "Seen in the Shops," "*Vogue* Designs for the Seamstress," "Smart Fashions for Limited Incomes," "For the Hostess" and "Society Snapshots" were also fostered by Todd's *Vogue* but significantly, the *Vogue* of Turnure was concerned also with reviewing new plays, new art, new music and new books alongside an amount of fiction. Todd's *Vogue*, in its inclusion of these same elements harks back to Turnure's *Vogue* more than has previously been admitted and thus, she cannot be tainted with the accusation of despoiling *Vogue's* renown and with leading it astray. Rather, Todd should be accredited with presenting to the British audience what *Vogue* was really meant to be about.

The choice to name Turnure's classy gazette *"Vogue"* is also a revelation in terms of its history and also serves to illustrate its distinction in the crowded publication market. The fundamental differentiation regarding *Vogue* as a magazine is the marked element of distinction it delivers through its title alone. Margaret Beetham has noted, “of fifty ‘female’ titles published between 1800 and 1850, twenty-seven included the word ’lady’.”[92] Although Beetham is using

[92] Beetham, M. *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman’s Magazine, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1996) p.27

this statistic in order to understand when the use of the word 'woman' was added into the vocabulary of the periodical press, it is also possible to deduce further facts pertaining to enhance understanding of the glossy magazine. From lists of female periodicals of this period, it can be observed that the remaining twenty-three publications were made up of a majority that included the words "the fair sex" (*Records of Weekly Amusements for the Fair Sex*) or "house"/ "home". There is a very small amount within this fifty that were intended for `the perusal of women but were named after proprietors or took an entirely original title. It is a confusing task indeed to follow the history of these similarly named almanacs, annuals miscellanies and companions but after close observation of over three hundred years of magazine history, it is possible to discover that the magazines we would now define as 'the glossies' were the exception to this inclination. The magazines that I have selected to trace the history of the glossy and to chart its development, prove this to be true, and of course, is also the case with the magazine in question: *Vogue*. This trend in naming continues through to the 1900s, and serves to distinguish the glossy as possessing an originality that sets them apart from other periodicals for women, choosing a name which both defined their content and had a deeper significance in terms of its meaning and origins. It was *Vogue's* first editor, Josephine Redding[93] who finally came up with a suitable name for Turnure's magazine. Josephine Redding was editor from 1892 until 1900. Redding was more interested in animals than fashion and her own column, "Concerning Animals" would continue to be present in American *Vogue* until the 1940s, but more importantly, it is Redding who is accredited with endowing Turnure's magazine with the name "*Vogue*":

[93] Josephine Redding was born in New York City in 1862. From 1883, Redding made herself known as an editor (and later owner) of *Art Interchange*, a publication allied with the Art Students' League and the National Academy of Design. She appears to have made her initial associations with Arthur Turnure who was later to employ her at *Vogue*, through this magazine as he had been its editor before her. Redding also had a regular column in *Home-Maker*. In the issue of May 20th 1887, *The Wisconsin Labour Magazine*, a feature entitled, "A Dozen Noted Women" proclaimed Redding as, "a brilliant newspaper woman [who] has made a success of her venture." During the years of her editorship of *Vogue,* which began at the magazines inception in 1892, she wrote many provocative editorials dealing with topics as wide ranging as Women's Suffrage, Animal Rights and Racism and also chose to publish the work of an array of serious contemporary writers such as Chopin. Her input into the young magazine causes her to quickly become known as the "keen witted editor […] dedicated to making *Vogue* unique in all respects." (Sourced from: *New York Notes, The Literary World*, January 14th 1893) Redding died in 1922 aged 60, and *Vogue*, under the direction of Woolman Chase and owned by Nast, made no reference to her death or contribution to the magazine. Two decades later, a celebratory issue, "Fifty Years of *Vogue,*" mentioned her briefly, accrediting her as *Vogue's* first editor.

> The list of names was long, but none of them seemed quite right until the editor in chief Josephine Redding showed up at an affair where she was expected to announce the name of the new publication, bearing a Century Dictionary in her hands with the word 'vogue' underlined. The definition said:
>
> *"vogue* (vog) ... The mode or fashion prevalent at any particular time; popular reception, repute or estimation; common currency: now generally used in the phase *in vogue*: as, a particular style of dress was then *in vogue*; a writer who was *in vogue* fifty years ago; such opinions are now *in vogue*." Turnure and McVickar were immediately convinced. It was just the name they needed to identify their social gazette.[94]

It is unlikely that in 1892, Turnure understood the significance of the magazine he was about to call *Vogue.* The name set *Vogue* out as unique in the publication market and prided itself in taking on all that the term embodied. The magazine was the height of the fashionable, the definition of the stylish and the place where trends and customs of dress were set. He could not have estimated that, over two hundred years later the word "vogue" itself would in part be defined as a magazine of taste, class and significance to women across the world. Josephine Redding retired in 1901 and Harry McVickar had also "drifted away,"[95] leaving Turnure remaining as the sole remnant of the original executive board. The beginnings of the 1900's thus marked a rather "rudderless state"[96] before Marie Harrison — Turnure's sister-in-law —became *Vogue's* second editor.[97]

[94] Angeletti, N. & Olivia, A. *In "Vogue": The Illustrated History of the World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine* (London: Rizzoli International Publications, 2006) p.9
[95] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.38
[96] ibid. p.39
[97] Marie Harrison was given a five year contract to remain as editor of *Vogue* on Nast's takeover. She was replaced by Edna Woolman Chase on 1st February 1914 after a legal battle relating to financial shares between Nast and Mrs. Turnure.

Now ten years old, *Vogue* was in need of some new incentives to keep it not only afloat, but permanently entrenched as a leader in the constantly expanding and competitive market of women's periodicals. Advertising, despite growing in importance and sales figures nationally between 1900 and 1905, was "practically nonexistent"[98] in *Vogue* in 1902. Woolman Chase acknowledged that "the engine-room of our baroque, our advertisingwas wallowing in the

[99]

Figure 10

doldrums."[100] It became apparent, that despite *Vogue's* constantly exclusive readership, it needed something else in order to help it survive. Turnure's answer to this, predominantly financial problem, was to employ Tom McCreedy, who at the age of nineteen was already holding an influential position at *Scribner's* magazine.[101] McCreedy was employed as advertising manager "of a magazine with virtually no advertising"[102] on the basis of his initial promise to Turnure that he could help him maintain *Vogue's* popularity with its readership and simultaneously lessen the

[98] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.38
[99] Marie Harrison Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) unnumbered insert.
[100] ibid. p.39
[101] The *Scribner's* that employed McCreedy was the second magazine published by the New York based firm of Scribner's and succeeded *Scribner's Monthly* after its demise in 1881. *Scribner's* began in 1887 and was to run until 1939. Every single issue devoted almost half of its total pages to advertising, whilst the other half was comprised of popular and literary prose and poetry, articles of historical and cultural comment and amount of travel writing.
[102] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.40

tension of the proprietor's financial difficulties.[103] McCreedy knew well that the profits of a magazine relied now even more heavily on advertising and he began to entice renowned companies to promote their wares in *Vogue's* pages:

> one day Tom secured a full-page advertisement from Best and Co. for the Children's Number. From conversations he had had with the trade he believed he could get many more such pages were *Vogue* to develop primarily as a fashion magazine and a practical shopping guide rather than as a gazette of social activities. Show the women in the rest of the United States what New York stores, dressmakers, and milliners were offering and what the smart women of New York were buying, and he reasoned Turnure could develop a class of advertising peculiarly germane to *Vogue.*[104]

McCreedy's role in augmenting the part played by advertising in the story of *Vogue* has since been dramatically overlooked and under-played in previous accounts of its formation and thus should be given further acknowledgment. McCreedy brought the magazine up to speed with the contemporary climate which depended on advertising revenue. He suggested *Vogue* move away from carrying "a baffling combination of elements"[105] and instead focus on fashion, and most importantly in terms of what *Vogue's* future was to behold, he knew he "could overcome the handicap of a small circulation, as he could truthfully boast that *[Vogue]* readers were women of means and leaders of fashion and that what these women wore the whole country would be eager to buy."[106] Turnure approved of this new idea and immediately stopped selling advertising space by the line and instead promoted the allocation of large blocks of space as well as full pages to be filled with opulent and pictorial adverts. MCreedy and Turnure were undoubtedly successful

[103] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.40 Woolman Chase cites information from McCreedy's interview reporting that Turnure had told his new employee how "he was in straits, that he was borrowing from his mother's estate to keep the magazine running, but that the readers liked it."
[104] ibid.
[105] ibid. p.38
[106] ibid. p.40-41

in this new approach, because by 1908, *Vogue* had as one of its pivotal assets, an advertising revenue of over one hundred thousand dollars per year.[107] It seems to me that the reasons for MCreedy's joining the *Vogue* staff are the same as those which caught the attention of the entrepreneur who was waiting in the wings to appear in *Vogue's* second act — Condé Montrose Nast.[108] Arthur Turnure died suddenly aged forty-nine in April 1906 of lobar pneumonia, leaving Marie Harrison and her newly appointed assistant — Woolman Chase — to maintain *Vogue*. The extent of Turnure's financial hardship became clear when his last will and testament left only a few hundred dollars, his apartment and *Vogue,* which understandably became "the family's bread and butter."[109] Nast began negotiations to buy *Vogue,* but did not acquire the magazine until 1909.[110] After these three years of tumultuous discussion, Nast inherited a "falling circulation of 14,000 [per week]"[111] a decline of 11,000 from the figure in 1901. What the magazine did have however, was a "readership that included some of the richest and most socially prominent members of New York society"[112] whose potential value to the potential advertisers McCreedy had already identified would also offer Nast the potential to enact his principles of advertising within his own magazine.

[107] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.56

[108] Nast was born in New York on March 26th 1873 but was raised in St. Louis by his parents who ran a small publishing firm. He attended Georgetown University in Washington D.C where he met Robert J. Collier, son of the publishing entrepreneur Peter Fenelon Collier, proprietor of *Collier's Weekly*. After returning to St. Louis to study Law, Collier Jr. offered Nast the position of advertising manager of the journal in 1897 which Nast accepted and thus returned to New York. Nast became Business Manager for Colliers in 1905, but also felt it necessary to branch out with his own publishing projects during the entirety of his ten year spell with his initial employers. In 1904 he became Vice President of the Home Pattern Company which provided him with experience within the growing sphere of female fashion consumption.

[109] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.51

[110] The masthead of the magazine of 24th June 1909 proclaimed the following: "The *Vogue* Company, Condé Nast, President, M. L. Harrison, Vice-President, Theron Campbell, Treasurer, W. O. Harrison, Secretary"

[111] Seebohm, Caroline, The *Man Who Was Vogue: The Life and Times of Condé Nast* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Limited, 1982) p.38

[112] ibid.

 [113]

Figure 11

[113] Image of Nast sourced from: Seebohm, Caroline, The *Man Who Was Vogue: The Life and Times of Condé Nast* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Limited, 1982) p.38

After a period of six months[114] in which Nast spent little time in the *Vogue* offices and had limited contact with the magazine itself, he eventually made the defining decision to make *Vogue* into a fortnightly rather than weekly publication whilst also simultaneously raising the cover price from ten to fifteen cents an issue. For the extra five cents, readers were given a much thicker edition, standing at an average of one hundred pages compared to the average thirty pages of the Turnure years. There were also changes experienced with regards to the contents themselves including "colour covers,[...] a build up of *Vogue* patterns, more society and more fashion."[115] In short, *Vogue* under Nast emerged from the cocoon of a social gazette as an elegant women's periodical, but most importantly, in terms of the legacy of Nast, he dedicated more pages of his *'belle'* to advertising. Centrally, Nast wanted to maximise the potential of the readership established by Turnure. To a large extent, it was Nast's personal position within New York society that enabled him to implement his aims of increasing revenue: he was married to Clarisse Coudert, part of one of the exclusive families of the Four Hundred who had read and lived within the pages of Turnure's *Vogue*. As was the case with Turnure, class and taste were to be central to *Vogue's* success.

116

Figure 12

[114] Changes were beginning to made within *Vogue* in the opening months of 1910, and "by the beginning of 1911 the new Nast *Vogue* had taken shape, and this was the prototype — a richly embellished frieze of society, fashion, social conscience, and frivolity, picked out in gold by the confident and stylish hand of its new publisher." Cited in Angeletti, N. & Olivia, A. *In "Vogue": The Illustrated History of the World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine* (London: Rizzoli International Publications, 2006) p.151

[115] Seebohm, Caroline, The *Man Who Was Vogue: The Life and Times of Condé Nast* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Limited, 1982) p.70

[116] Frank Crowninshield, Condé Nast and Edna Woolman Chase in 1915. Sourced from Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) unnumbered insert

[117]

Figure 13

[117] The first issue of *Vogue* that acknowledges Nast as proprietor. *Vogue*, June, 1909.
Sourced from: http://www.Condénast.com/sites/all/files/1909_large_vogue1.jpg accessed on 27th May 2013

The awareness of both Turnure and Nast of the exclusivity of their audience and their dual abilities to foster a specialised class of readership is connected to the subject of consumerism. "[Magazines] served the system of mass production and mass distribution by bringing together the buyers and sellers of goods and services, and in doing so they no doubt helped to promote a dynamic, expanding economy."[118] Central to the growth of a highly capitalist economy, as was evident in America in the last decade of the nineteenth century, is the process of advertising and its increased inclusion within the pages of magazines — particularly those aimed towards and addressed to women. Theodore Peterson states that, "[...] advertising [...] helped to create the mental attitudes necessary for a level of consumption high above basic needs [...]. Magazines as a chief medium of national advertising were a party to each accomplishment."[119] The study of *Vogue* is unique in terms of publishing history because of the way in which it pioneered the growth in importance of the advertiser, marking a shift away from the days when it was the publishers' sole aim simply to sell magazines: "not only were periodicals themselves commodities, they helped to create a commodity culture."[120] Richard Ohmann, in his work, *Selling Culture*, notes how magazine publishers in general — and I argue, Condé Nast in particular — discovered that it was more important to sell their readers to possible advertisers than to attempt to increase revenue purely through magazine sales. Ohmann also highlights the importance of placing readers into a consumer group in order to appeal to certain advertisers. His theory is reminiscent of Turnure's intentions to aim *Vogue* at the Four Hundred, and Nasts' ability to capitalise on the exclusive readership in order to increase revenue through advertising. *Vogue* was thus "specialised enough to claim a readership that was also a predictable consumer group."[121] Ohmann, concludes that this combination of the specialised group and the investing

[118] Peterson, Theodore, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1964) p.443
[119] ibid.
[120] Beetham, M. A *Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine,1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1996) p.10
[121] Sourced from: http://xroads.virginia.edu/~1930s/print/vanity/chapone.html accessed on 12th December 2010

advertiser marks not only a "magazine revolution,"[122] but also the birth of mass culture and it is therefore justifiable to attribute a large proportion of this revenue based philosophy to the pioneers of *Vogue* magazine.

It is revealing that it was Turnure and Nast who were to philosophise about readership at a time when advertising was becoming more and more pivotal to increasing revenue. "Class Publications" was written by Condé Nast in June 1913 for the *Merchants' and Manufacturers' Journal of Baltimore.*[123] In this article, Nast laid down his ideas on the principles of the specialised publication and pays a great deal of attention to the effects that a successful class publication can experience in terms of advertising investments and revenue — it is also revealing about the ideals of *Vogue* in particular. Nast defined a class publication as having "fixity of purpose"[124] as opposed to the heterogeneous elements of a mass circulation magazine as defined by the New Journalism.[125] This article serves to aid an understanding of how Nast established the philosophy of his magazine: one that is dedicated to one subject ("common characteristic") and thus that this common characteristic is significant enough to unite its followers into a class. Importantly, Nast did not simply state that it was necessary to bring together the members of that one class, but also that it was the responsibility of those running the publication to "conspire [to] rigorously exclude all others."[126] This point is where the initial point of convergence in ideas for Nast and McCreedy breaks apart. Nast's principal motivation for sharply defining the readership of *Vogue* at his takeover was that of advertising. He wanted to "bait the editorial pages in such a way as to lift out of all the million Americans just the hundred thousand cultivated persons who can buy

[122] Ohmann, R. *Selling Culture: Magazines, Markets, and Class at the Turn of the Century* [1996] (London: Verso, 1998) p.340
[123] Angeletti, N. & Olivia, A. *In "Vogue": The Illustrated History of the World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine* (London: Rizzoli International Publications, 2006) p.7
[124] Ibid.
[125] By this I mean the "yellow journalism" that was contemporarily heralded as "New Journlism" which refers to the type of reporting that ignores fact in favour of sensationalism with the intention of selling higher volumes within the market place.
[126] Angeletti, N. & Olivia, A. *In "Vogue": The Illustrated History of the World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine* (London: Rizzoli International Publications, 2006) p.7

these quality goods."[127] It was because of the exclusive, affluent and consumer-driven readership that *Vogue* had attracted and nurtured, that in "1910, *Vogue* had forty four percent more advertising pages than its closest competitor, *Ladies' Home Journal* "[128] despite *Vogue's* readership being considerably lower in number. Recognising the power of its pages in the ability of selling quality to "luxury lovers"[129] *Vogue* charged an astronomically steep ten dollars per page of advertising for every thousand readers compared to the two dollars asked by "high circulation magazines such as *McCall's"*[130] In Edna Woolman Chase's biography she recounts an analogy used by Nast to explain his preference to unite the consumers and retailers of extravagant products:

> If you had a tray with 2,000,000 needles on it and only 150,000 of these had gold tips which you wanted, it would be an endless and costly process to weed them out. Moreover, the 1,850,000 which were not gold tipped would be of no use to you, they couldn't help you, but if you could get a magnet that would draw out only the gold ones what a saving![131]

The analogy here is clear: Nast wanted *Vogue* to be the magnet which united the affluent consumers (the gold-tipped needles) to which the retailers needed to sell their high-end products to. *Vogue* became representative of the glossy magazines' ability to sell the expensive and exclusive to a small but perfectly formed and wealthy group of consumers. This element is undoubtedly of importance in terms of identifying the distinction between *Vogue's* two initial publishers, but the matter of a specialised readership is also related to Nast's overt exclusion of the fiction that had previously served to comprise *Vogue's* material whole under Turnure. Nast believed that publishing works of fiction would mean going against his ideas for a restricted class

[127] *TIME*, 40, 28th September 1942 p.51-52
[128] Angeletti, N. & Olivia, A. *In "Vogue": The Illustrated History of the World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine* (London: Rizzoli International Publications, 2006) p.7
[129] Peterson, Theodore, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1964) p.263
[130] Angeletti, N. & Olivia, A. *In "Vogue": The Illustrated History of the World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine* (London: Rizzoli International Publications, 2006) p.19
[131] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.55

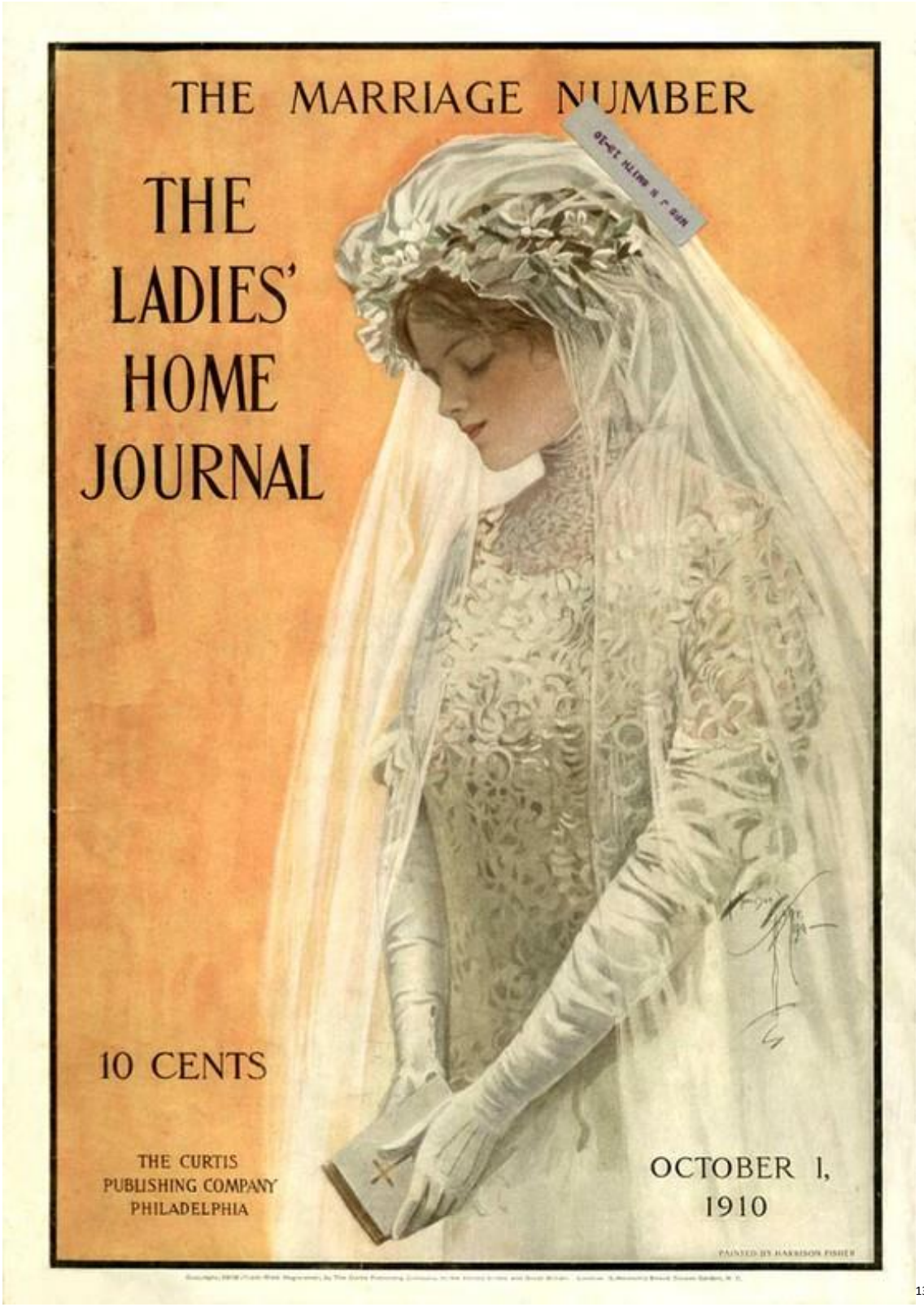
publication — mass market periodicals often published serials and short stories and as a result fiction was regarded as something of a unifying element, capable of being appreciated and enjoyed by everyone and therefore not suitable for the exclusivity of Nast's pages. This is also telling with regards to the literary element that Todd instilled into *Vogue* during her editorship. Although the fiction — in the form of short stories and poetry — of Todd's commissioned writers was far from being aimed at a mass market, its presence was not appreciated by Nast or the draconian Woolman Chase and was used therefore as an explanation for the alleged[132] decrease in advertising space and revenue experienced by British *Vogue* in the latter years of Todd's editorship.

Vogue was born in a period of high density magazine growth in America: the last decade of the nineteenth century. During this time, "Americans could buy periodicals representing a wide range of specialised interests"[133] such as, and most important to acknowledge here, that of the fashion magazine. It stands as an interesting paradoxical anomaly that the decade of the large circulation, affordable, multi-interest magazine, also saw the birth of the specialised and costly *Vogue*. As the 1890s moved into the 1900s and the capitalist commodity culture continued to expand, the power and capacity of advertising became ever more pivotal in the capitalist climate of American publishing. In a letter to his advertisers dated January 3rd 1911, Nast asserted that, "*Vogue* dominates its field as does no other periodical" deliberately quashing both the influence and the market leadership of the group of periodicals known collectively as "The Big Six."[134] This grandiose statement made by Nast to the advertisers announces the potency of his advertising formula. "The Big Six" led in circulation, played an intimate role in the lives of their dedicated readers and importantly, attracted a large amount of advertising that generated a large amount

[132] I say "alleged" purely because my own close study of the editions between 1922 and 1926 reveals little change in the amount of space given to advertising experienced in the six years prior to 1922 and the six years post 1926. Advertising content does not alter significantly in terms of the type of items being promoted either.
[133] Peterson, Theodore, *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1964) pg.2
[134] The Big Six was comprised of: *The Delineator* (1873), *McCall's* (1873), *Ladies' Home Journal* (1883) *Woman's Home Companion* (1874), *Good Housekeeping* (1885) and *Pictorial Review* (1899).

of dollars. The *Ladies' Home Journal,* considered to be *Vogue's* main competitor, attracted a circulation of 1,305,000 readers in 1910, contrasting considerably with *Vogue's* 30,000 a month. However, *Vogue* carried 44 per cent more advertising pages than this popular title in the first six months of 1910. The figures are equally as astounding with regards to the other forces within "The Big Six." As stated in the introduction to this chapter, understanding that all presupposed facts relating to the study of magazines need to be considered with caution in relation to *Vogue*, as it serves to defy established conventions with regards to how and why a magazine may be considered successful. In my mind the example of advertising and circulation given above, justly proves the need to dismiss suppositions deemed as actualities.

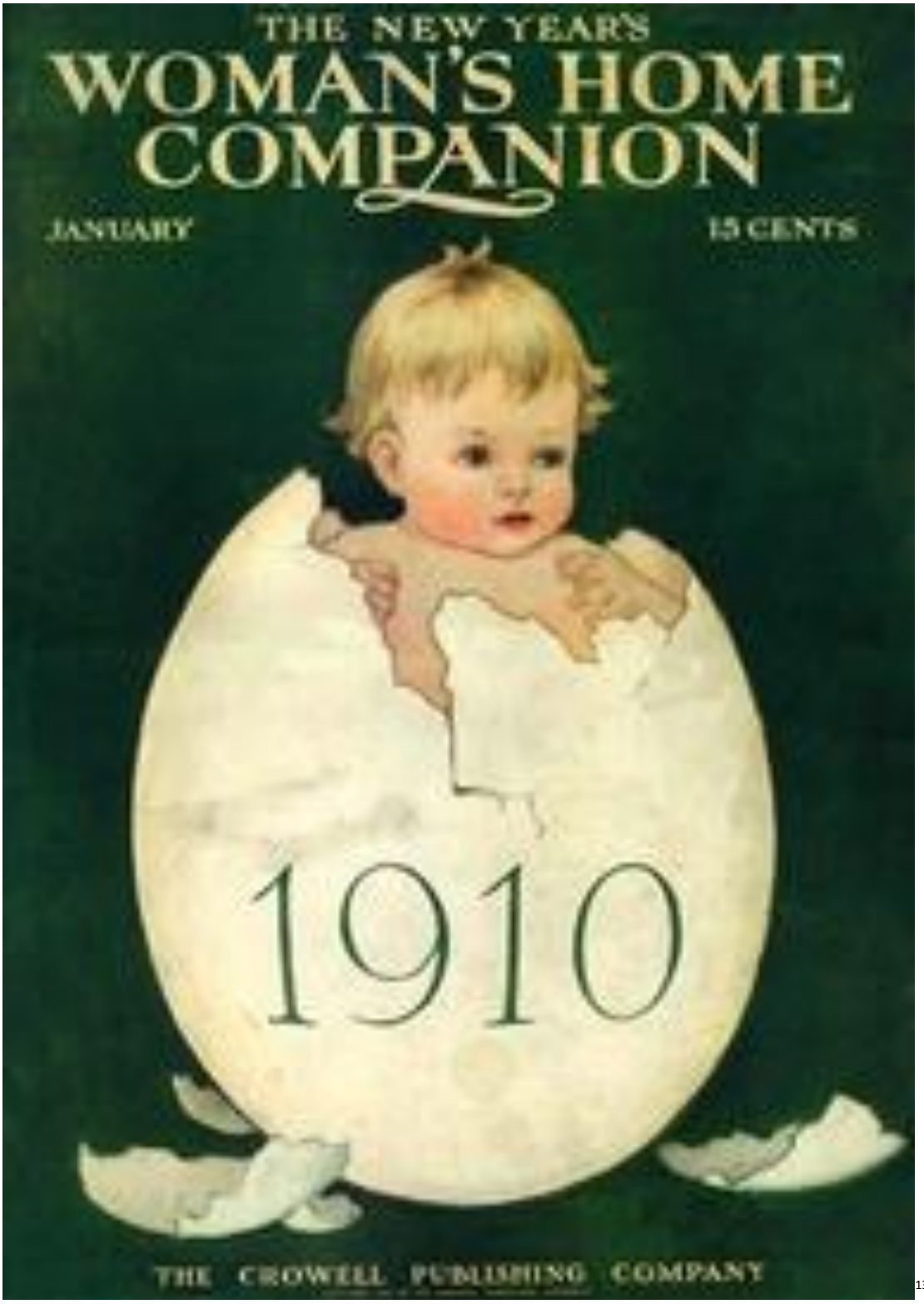
The Women's Home Companion which focused on housekeeping, sewing and recipes, generated a readership of 700,000 in 1910, but was beaten in advertising space by *Vogue*, which carried 78 per cent more. *The Delineator*, founded in 1873, selling an average 50,000 more copies a month than *The Women's Home Companion* was, in spite of its instructive domestic and beauty related contents, undervalued in terms of advertising as *Vogue* carried 138 per cent more. It is clear then that *Vogue,* despite its small circulation was "dominating its field" in terms of advertising revenue alone. What is interesting however, is the fact that *Vogue's* advertising prices, at $10 for every thousand readers were the most expensive and — on consideration that *McCall's* with a peak circulation of 4,650,000 copies a month, charged $2 or $3 per thousand readers — would seem to the un-wise advertiser ludicrously excessive. The astute advertiser realized how lucrative *Vogue* could be as a space in which to promote high quality and high priced items. The space that Nasts' *Vogue* offered them was priceless.



[135]

Figure 14

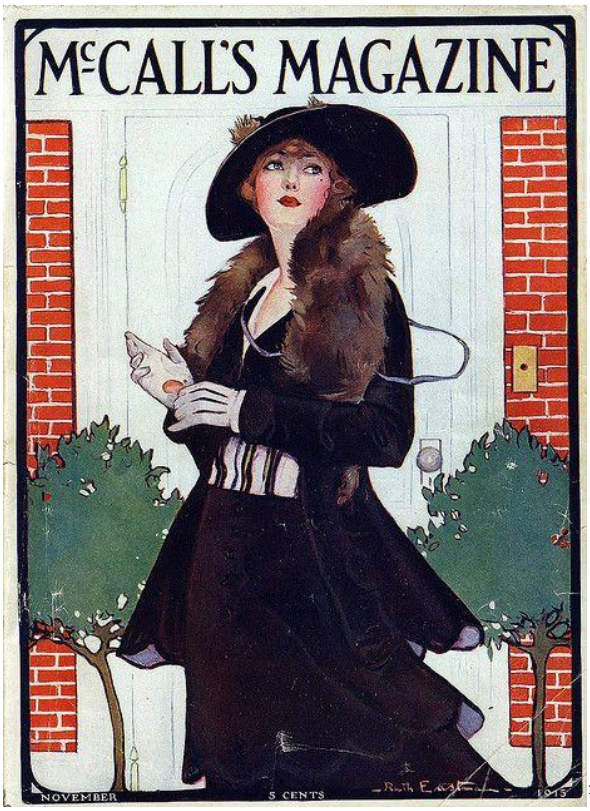
[135] Image sourced from: http://www.huffingtonpost.com/the-new-york-public-library/the-story-of-the-seven-si_b_2989101.html accessed on 8th July 2013.



[136]

Figure 15

[136] Image sourced from: http://www.philsp.com/homeville/fmi/t3580.html accessed on 8th July 2013.

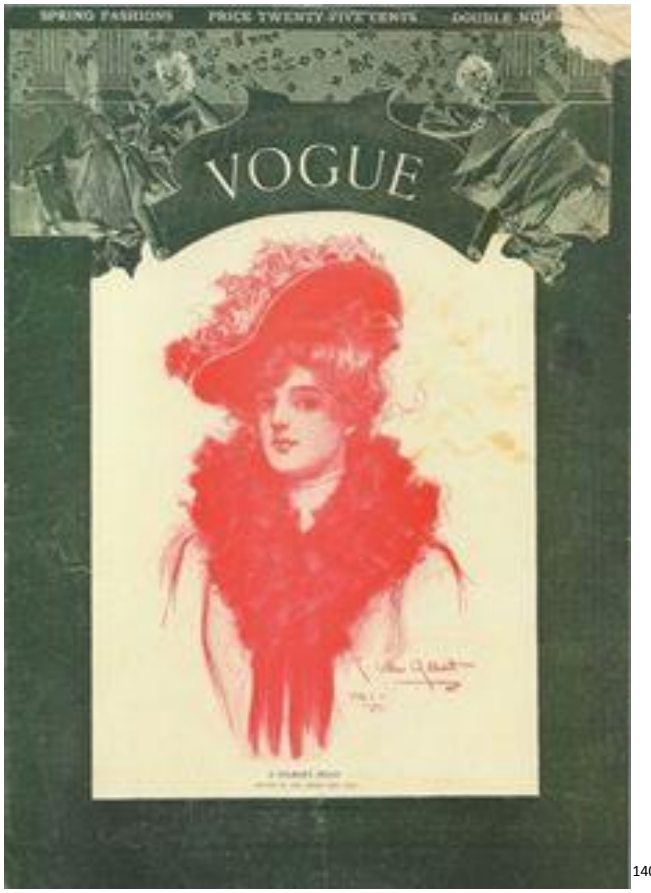


[137]

Figure 16

[137] All four images sourced from: http://www.philsp.com/homeville/fmi/t3580.html accessed on 8th July 2013.

Although the first colour cover of *Vogue* appeared in April 1901, it was Nast who insisted that all subsequent covers after his takeover should appear in colour rather than alternating with the black and white ones, as was customary during the Turnure years. With this pronounced increase with regards to the attention paid to the aesthetic, Nast also insisted that the *Vogue* logo should subsequently be incorporated to become part of the colour illustration and thus the logo was never completely uniform leaving "its form and location up to the imagination and creativity of the illustrators."[138] Nast's aim here was to "identify *Vogue* with the most elegant and modern pictorial style, and to make the female readers feel that, more than a magazine, they had in their hands an object of art."[139] This innovation is instrumental in being able to define *Vogue* as part of a larger tradition in magazines which I now move on to consider: that of the "Glossy."



[140]

Figure 17

[138] Angeletti, N. & Olivia, A. *In "Vogue": The Illustrated History of the World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine* (London: Rizzoli International Publications, 2006) p.98
[139] ibid.
[140] *Vogue's* first full colour cover of April 1901. Sourced from: Angeletti, N. & Olivia, A. *In "Vogue": The Illustrated History of the World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine* (London: Rizzoli International Publications, 2006) p. 43

[141]

Figure 18

[141] Cover of March 15th 1911, detailing the artwork of "J.G" creatively incorporating the name *"Vogue"* into the cover illustration itself. Image sourced from: www.vogue.com
accessed on 8th July 2013.

1.3 "Fashion and the Fashion Makers"[142] The Influential Antecedents to *Vogue*

Vogue is now considered to be "the definitive glossy fashion magazine representing the height of sybaritic opulence.[143] Definitions of the term 'glossy' —or 'slick' in America — in terms of magazine publication, concern the literal quality and type of paper used to produce it. The material is often varnished or laminated on the cover with shiny, high quality paper inside. It is also often the case that the size of the publication may be larger than other magazines. *La Belle Assemblée*, as will be seen, was noted in its day as a publication of class and taste, in part because of the royal octavo (10 x 6 ¼ inches) size it used to present its high status, high couture fashions to optimum effect, being an inch larger than the average magazine size. *Vogue* now measures 11 ¼ x 8 ¾ inches along with other leading glossies, *Harper's Bazaar* and *Tatler* distinguishing them from the mass market women's monthlies that now only appear in "handbag" sized editions (*Glamour*, 8 ½ x 6 ½ inches). The September 2010 *Harper's Bazaar* emblazoned with the headline "The Fashion Issue," was a staggering 10 ¾ x 9 ¼ inches large and 362 pages long. Glossies, even in today's society pay no attention to practicality, but instead aim for impact, becoming as visually provocative as the images within them. The 1830s offered up a phenomenon that is more closely aligned to the modern glossy than has previously been acknowledged, known as "The Books of Beauties". These ostentatiously attractive periodicals were hardbound and they were intended for the drawing-room tables of the aristocratic. They were composed of high quality paper which incorporated a high standard of engravings. Their content was dominated by fashion and fiction, much the same as *La Belle Assemblée* and its contemporary, *The Queen*. From their intensely extravagant form, it can be deduced that these "Books of Beauties" were not intended to be readily discarded — the same edition was likely read by friends and relatives of the owner and

[142] Anonymous, "Fashion and the Fashion Makers" *Vogue*, Late March 1922 p.53
[143] Braithwaite, B. & Barrell, J. *The Business of Women's Magazines* (London: Associated Business Press, 1979) p.12

held for a time period more commonly associated with a novel. Much the same can be said of such magazines as the ones discussed below, and definitely of *Vogue*.

Defining the glossy goes beyond the literal associations If the more figurative senses of the term are considered. Alongside the conventions that make up its material whole, the glossy can be understood as being as sophisticated, and as preoccupied with society gossip as the intended audience. The first, and unquestionably the most important element contributing to the glossy formula, is the class of reader aimed for and attained. As will be seen from the histories of the several magazines I have considered below, the readership consistently comprised the aristocratic, upper and upper middle classes. This intention is evident from the higher price tag, the continued references to the royal courts of England as well as France, and the inclusion of haute-couture rather than mass produced clothing. This exclusive approach to publishing, although having been around in variant forms since the beginnings of fashion publication for women, is most aptly consolidated into theory by both Arthur Turnure, *Vogue's* proprietor, and Condé Nast, its second owner.

The absence of news coverage originally marked the distinction between magazines for women and magazines for men. The glossy, however, was instrumental in developing fashion and consumerism as items of news for ladies. If one considers and seeks to define fashion, one will undoubtedly conclude that fashion is dynamic, evolving and diverse. With this in mind, fashion then, began to be seen by the periodical press as a subject of news for ladies. High class ladies needed to be kept informed of changes in fashionable dress and customs just as men needed to be kept aware of political agendas and shifts in the stock market. "News categories [developed] which turned on the fashionable social life of the aristocracy and [...] society."[144] The glossy is

[144] Beetham, M. *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1996) p.94

even more instrumental in this construction than other women's magazines that included fashion, purely because they had access to — and in some cases direct links with — the leading fashion periodicals of Pairs and Berlin, and thus more up-to-date, forward thinking collections of fashion. Other women's periodicals took their lead, even in the nineteenth century, from the class publications now considered as glossies.

There are multiple other features that comprise the glossy as it has come to be identified today and can be seen as important throughout the history of this particular form of fashion magazine. From the beginnings of print production through to the development of the technologically advanced processes of the twenty-first century, the magazines I have identified as being central to the development of the glossy into the magazine in existence today, have carried the highest quality images possible in their individual eras, and are often the instigators of coloured pictures as well as full page illustrations. Photography and illustration are not central to this research, but it is nevertheless important to acknowledge how glossy photographs have come to define the glossy magazine.

Long before the birth of *Vogue*, a Swiss painter, named Josse Amman, published *Gynasceum, sive Theatrum Mulierum* (*The Gynasceum or Theatre of Women*) in Frankfurt in the year 1585. This magazine was comprised of a series of plates depicting the fashions of the ladies of Europe with some written content in Latin.[145] However, this work was not 'duly appreciated by women'[146] because of the barrier posed by the Latin —inaccessible to the majority of women of this era. In spite of this, it is interesting to note the German origins of the series of fashion engravings offered up by *The Gynasceum*. We shall see that, despite the commonly held belief that it was Paris that the English —and in time the Americans— looked to for lessons in dressing,

[145] Information sourced from: http://fax.libs.uga.edu/GT850xC4/1f/history_of_fashion_in_france.pdf accessed on 28th October 2010
[146] Ibid.

the cities of Berlin and Frankfurt also became influential in offering new styles of dress to the leisured ladies of the wider world.


Gynæceum, Sive
THEATRVM MVLIE-
RVM, IN QVO PRAECIPVARVM
OMNIVM PER EVROPAM IN PRIMIS, NA-
TIONVM, GENTIVM, POPVLORVMQVE, CVIVSCVNQVE
dignitatis, ordinis, status, conditionis, professionis,
ætatis, formarumq; habitus videre est,
ARTIFICIOSISSIMIS NVNC PRIMVM
figuris, nec non quam antehac pariter elegantiis
ædibus, expressis à
IOBOCO AMANO.
ADDITIS AD SINGVLAS FIGVRAS SINGVLIS
ostichidis FRANCISCI MODII Bruy.
M. D. LXXXVI.
Francofurti, Impensis Sigismundi Feyrabendij.
Moscouica fœmina primaria.
Moscouicis mos est vestem hanc gestare puellis,
Quarum iam puppas dextera Cypris habet.
Pellita in qua quod sunt pleraq; sic rigor orbis
Illius, & Boreæ subdita regna iubent.
Cætera, colligere est quod de præsente figura,
Grata satis merito commoditate sua est.
Commoditate, aio? imò & maiestate decora est,
Qualem vix similem Gallia culta dabit.
e Camil-

Figure 19

The next publication to be acknowledged as instrumental in charting the growth of the modern fashion glossy originated in France. *Le Mercure Galant* made its debut in 1672 and was directed solely towards the fashionable female. The main aims of the magazine were to keep members of society informed about life in the French court and about current cultural trends. The gazette printed theatre reviews, literary extracts and high-fashion. *Le Mercure Galant* offers an early example of a multi-faceted fashion magazine, on which Arthur Turnure would model *Vogue*, two hundred and twenty years later. Images in the form of engravings started to appear alongside

[147] *Gynasceum, sive Theatrum Mulierum, 1585.*
Images sourced from: http://www.invaluable.com/auction-lot/amman,-jost-1539-1591-.-,-gynaeceum-sive-theat-4322-c-gz9e82r5rm
accessed on 28th October 2010

written reports of fashion in the 1670s, making *Le Mercure Galant*, the first fashion publication, incorporating both editorial copy— in the vernacular— and pictures.

[148]

Figure 20

It is also noteworthy for this study that the gazette, like *Vogue*, depicted luxury goods, opulent lifestyles and lessons in etiquette. Studies of the history of American and English magazines show France to be understandably influential in terms of setting the standard on such topics as society and clothing. The French Court had become the centre of the fashionable world in the seventeenth century and *Le Mercure Galant* was a pioneer in disseminating this fashionable scene to both France and to the wider world. Magazines such as *Les Cabinets de Modes*, and *Journal de la Mode et du Gote* promoted the fashion of the French to the world during the last decades of the eighteenth century. Another magazine to reveal the incredible influence of French fashion was, *Le Moniteur de la Mode,* which took the court and the aristocratic as the exemplars of the fashionable world. *Le Moniteur de la Mode* was considered to be the "reigning fashion journal"[149] of France, and the paper was so successful that it was run as both an American version (1853-1854) and as an English edition (1882-1896).

[148] *Le Mercure Galant*.
Images sourced from: http://www.fashion-era.com/regency_fashion.htm
accessed on 26th October2010
[149] Information sourced from: http://fax.libs.uga.edu/GT850xC4/1f/history_of_fashion_in_france.pdf
accessed on 28th October 2010

[150]

Figure 21

Interestingly, the fashion plates of *Le Moniteur de la Mode* were designed by Jules David who was in the habit of helpfully signing his designs for the publication. His engravings could be imported for use in other papers and as a result, have also been located in American, Spanish, German and English fashion journals, despite having become old-news on the journey from Paris.

La Belle Assemblée, or *Bells' Court and Fashionable Magazine* was launched in 1806 and was known in its day as being the most prominent fashion periodical for the leisured lady. Interestingly, the magazine also printed a small amount of material on verse, novels and fiction. The main reason for its success — and its notable distinction from other magazines which included fashion — was the high standard it maintained in presenting its content. A high quality of production has already been noted as one of the characteristics in defining a glossy magazine, and *La Belle* covered fashion with as much beauty and charm as its name implied. Like modern glossies, the magazine was large and, unusually for this particular era, also available in colour. *La Belle Assemblée* did not just present fashion it "consolidated the tradition of elegantly produced

[150] *Le Moniteur de la Mode,* 1896 issues 8,7,4
Sourced from: http://www.fashion-era.com/regency_fashion.htm
accessed on 27th October 2010

fashion magazines for an all female audience"[151] of which the glossies of today, especially that of *Vogue*, can be said to have taken their lead. The detailed engravings were accompanied by equally detailed text which described the article of clothing shown — a technique of the glossies still used today. The revolutionary magazine was merged in 1832 with two of the other most successful ladies papers: *The Ladies Magazine* and *The Ladies Museum,* to form *The Court Magazine and Belle Assemblée.* The merger occurred at such a time in the history of the periodical press when fashion was becoming central in shaping femininity and being able to be presented in more advanced ways through improvements in printing technologies and editorial techniques. From the 1830s, new publications "assumed that fashion was a necessary ingredient in the ladies magazine."[152] However, at the same time— and thus serving to explain the continued development of the glossy — fashion remained an almost exclusively aristocratic arena. *La Belle*, in its new merged form, continued to publish aristocratic gatherings and style trends until 1847, but it left a permanent mark on the notion of presenting couture to ladies after its demise.

[153]

Figure 22

[151] Beetham, M. *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1996) p.33
[152] ibid. p.41
[153] *La Belle Assemblée*, February 1806.
Image sourced from:: http://www.fashion-era.com/regency_fashion.htm
accessed on 20th December 2010

[154]

Figure 23

The traditions established by *La Belle Assemblée* for high quality full-page illustrations, high cover price, and high class couture, manifested themselves again in 1861 when the successful Samuel Beeton[155] launched *The Queen*. At sixpence a copy weekly, *The Queen* was aimed at "an overtly affluent readership"[156] and was viewed by contemporaries as a "class paper."[157] The contents of the newspaper [158] documented the movements of "The Upper Ten Thousand," including full sized illustrations and lengthy descriptions of the debutantes in their dresses being received at the court of Queen Victoria. This ceremonial approach is representative of the grandeur and importance *The Queen* prided itself upon presenting to its high-society readership. It was this traditionally British pomp and circumstance that attracted the aspirational classes: another component of the genre of the glossy magazine.

[154] Illustrations from *La Belle Assemblée* dates from left to right, June 1829, May 1831, April 1809. Sourced from: http://www.fashion-era.com/regency_fashion.htm on 20th December2010

[155] Samuel Beeton had previously published *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine in 1852.* Costing only 2D it was created as the alternative of the expensive class periodicals and aimed at the middle class female who also wanted to keep up-to-date with the latest customs in costume. Representative of the middle-class publication, *The Englishwoman's Domestic Magazine* incorporated different genres besides fashion and included that enemy to the glossy: the everyday and practical

[156] Braithwaite, B. *Women's Magazines* (London: Peter Owen Ltd, 1994) p.13

[157] Beetham, M. *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1996) p.89

[158] ibid. p.93 *The Queen* was often referred to as a newspaper because of its promise to provide news for ladies. The magazine was an instigator of determining which "aspects of the public world" were of interest and advantage to the lady reader. This issue of fashion as news has been noted as being central in defining the glossy magazine as we know it today.

The Queen displayed its class and dedication to the more opulent echelons of society, through excessive use of illustration depicting luxury and excess and often re-creating scenes from the English court, an example of which is pictured below. The first ever issue also included a specially commissioned portrait of Queen Victoria, who had also given permission for her title to be used. The endorsement is proclaimed proudly from the masthead of the magazine with a detailed drawing of Windsor Castle.

Figure 24

[159]

Figure 25

[159] Illustrations from *The Queen.*
Sourced from: http://www.fashion-era.com/regency_fashion.htm
accessed on 20th December 2010

With such overt regal connotations, Beeton's intentions for *The Queen* could not have been clearer. The immediacy with which the magazine pursued the wealthy women of society, cleverly placed the monarch herself as the epitome, the zenith of the fashionable. Victoria was a woman occupying the highest position in English life, and thus a figure to be emulated and revered by other women.

I now wish to turn away from the magazines that can be considered early prequels to the glossy tradition as we would now consider it, in order to pay an amount of attention to two familiar titles that are still in existence. The fist English example was founded in 1709 and is known as *Tatler*. *Tatler* is one of the more complex publications to define as a glossy. Its content today, although not entirely dissimilar, is inclusive of a great deal more fashion than it was at its inception on 12th April 1709. It was Richard Steele who invented *The Tatler* and created the pseudonymous editor Issac Bickerstaff (the pun relating to gossip and facetiousness being obvious). In this form, the gazette intended for both men and women, but dedicated by name to the "fair sex" because of their associations with the stereotypical tattle-tale (i.e. The *'Tat*ler'), lasted only twenty months until December 1710. As may also be inferred from its title, Steele aimed his paper at the middle classes who inhabited the coffee houses of St. James's which were the place to "see and be seen."[160] From the outset and in line with one of the principal conventions of the glossy, *The Tatler* made fashionable society the centre of its content. *The Tatler* also veers away from the typical glossy formula in that it was a much more heterogeneous "cocktail"[161] gazette. It presented "Whate'er men do, or say. or think, or dream / Our motley paper seizes for its theme"[162] in the form of news — of the gossip and controversial variety — entertainment in terms of upcoming fashionable social events and gatherings, trivia and also, despite Steele's pledge to "leave politics to the newspapers"[163] an amount of Whig sympathetic

[160] *Tatler*, November 2009, vol. 304 Number 11 p.75
[161] ibid. p.76
[162] ibid. p.75 This was the epigraph, penned by Issac Bickerstaff in the opening issue of *The Tatler*.
[163] *Tatler*, November 2009, vol. 304 Number 11 p.75

articles. The political propaganda that Steele promoted in his pages was to cause the swift downfall of this original *Tatler.*

[164]

Figure 26

Despite various papers appearing in the years following the original *Tatler's* demise, a successful version of the magazine was not to appear until 3rd July 1901 under the leadership of the renowned literary figure of Clement King Shorter. Shorter carried on the traditions of the original title, and covered the grand ball at Sutherland House in its debut edition which cost sixpence and was to reoccur weekly above the sub-title: "an illustrated journal of society and the stage."[165] It may be said that this was a more "propitious time to launch a pictorial society magazine"[166] than Steele's era was capable of, or it may be that Shorter attracted the upper-middle classes more so than the middle with its preoccupations in the "playground" of "Grand

[164]Contemporary image detailing an enlarged duplicate of the first ever *Tatler* of April 1709.
Sourced from: http://www.hannahteare.com/archive/1709
accessed on 11th June 2013
[165] *Tatler*, November 2009, vol. 304 Number 11 p.79
[166] ibid. p.73

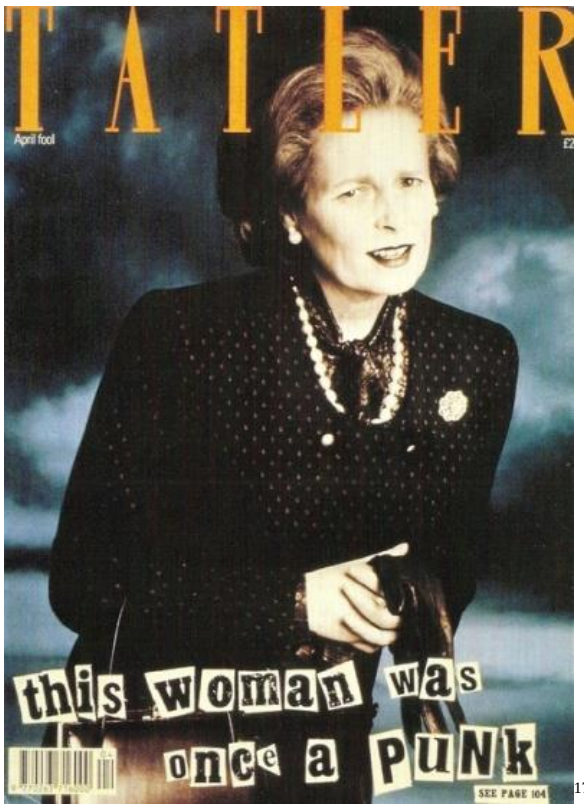
Dukes, grand families, grand houses and grand dynasties"[167] Alternatively it may be that Shorter's *Tatler* was more focused in terms of content than Steele's assortment of topics. *The Tatler* of 1901 — which is the edition that is still in existence today — prioritised good writing in its documenting of the fashionable. It was in Steele's era that fashion and beauty of the wealthy became central to the magazine with the feature "The Highway of Fashion" occupying over half of the magazine's space. Fashion for both women and men was central to the reporting of parties, celebrities, photographs and society. *The Tatler*, at this time, however, also devoted the remainder of its page space to fiction and continued to do so until Condé Nast Publications Limited acquired it in 1982. It is therefore the issue of its consistently upper class readership, rather than the ever increasing fashion coverage that defines *Tatler* as a glossy magazine.

The second history of a modern day glossy I wish to chart is of American extraction and was contemporarily known to be "a repository of Fashion, Pleasure and Instruction."[168] Growth of the mass market magazine in America was stimulated by the development of the cheap periodical that addressed the lower-classes. Before this point, there were only a few magazines which had a monopoly over the entirety of the vast readership and which were predominantly geared towards the upper and middle classes. One of these papers was run by Harper & Brothers. The Harper Brothers started a publishing firm in 1817 in New York and become known as Harper & Brothers from 1833. From 1850 *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* and from 1857, *Harper's Weekly* were "forerunners of the modern picture magazine and news magazines"[169] as quality monthly publications. These journals, despite possessing the highest circulation figures of any magazine in America at the time,[170] did not include fashion. It was Fletcher Harper who was the instigator of *Harper's Bazar* in 1867 which is now widely considered to be America's first "slick" fashion

[167] *Tatler*, November 2009, vol. 304 Number 11 p.73
[168] Blum, S. *Victorian Fashions and Costumes from Harper's Bazar, 1867-1898* (Dover: Dover Publications Inc, 1975)
[169] Peterson, T. *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1964) p.219
[170] Up to 200,000 readers in 1891. Information sourced from: Peterson, T. *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1964) p.3

171

172



173

Figure 27

[171] 300th Anniversary Issue of *Tatler,* November 2009. Image: author's own
[172] Prince Harry on the cover of *Tatler*, November 2012 revealing a constant regal preoccupation. Image: authors own
[173] Designer Vivienne Westwood playing the role of ex-Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher for *Tatler,* April 1989. Image: author's own

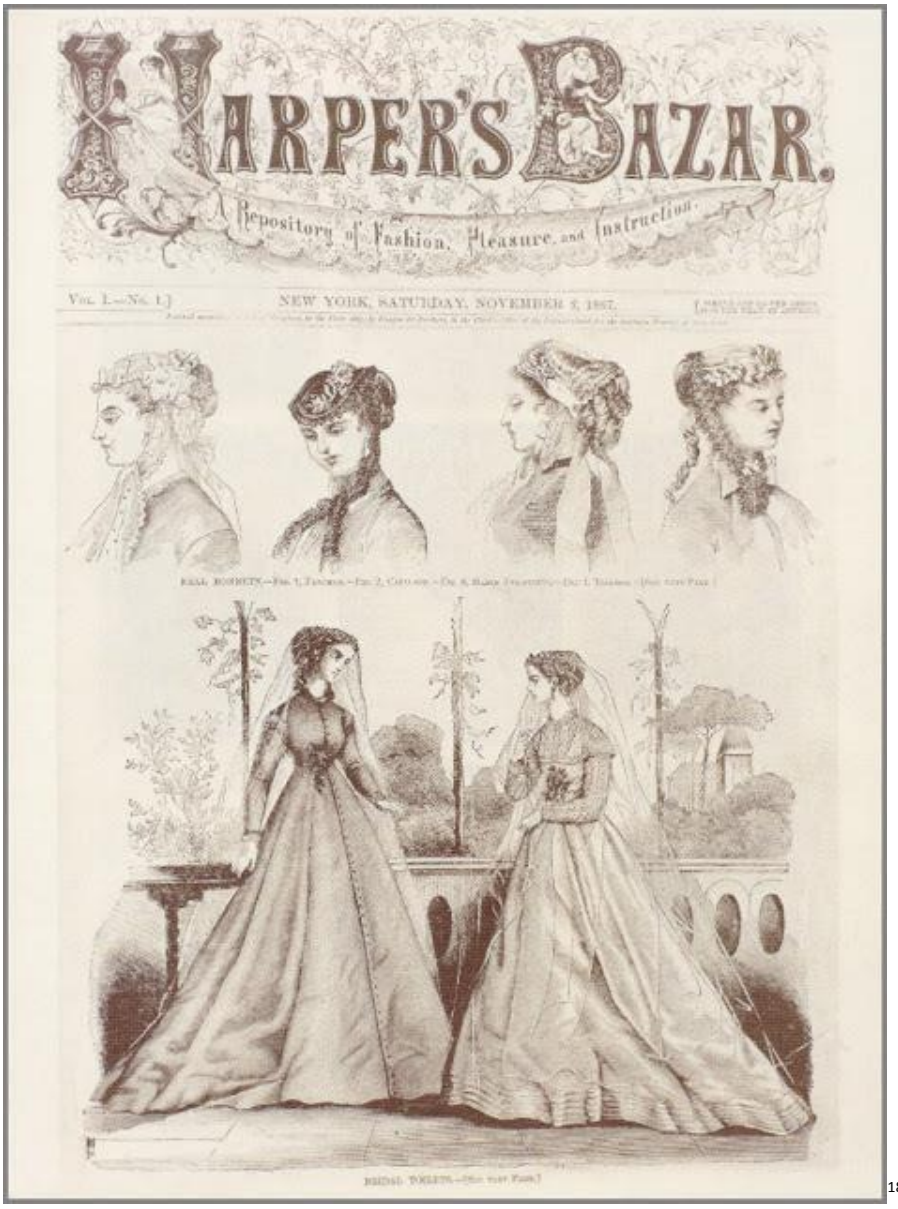
magazine. He modelled his idea for a publication for the upper and middle circles of fashion-conscious American ladies on *Der Bazar*, an important magazine of fashion in Berlin. *Der Bazar* was to play much more of an instrumental role in the success story of *Harper's Bazar* however, than simply being its inspiration. Fletcher Harper had pledged to bring "advanced"[174] fashions to Americans, and to do this he relied on *Der Bazar* — "which supplied the fashions to the newspapers of Paris,"[175] — to ship the company styles from Germany in advance: "'our readers will thus be sure of obtaining the genuine Paris fashions simultaneously with Parisians themselves.'"[176] This innovative technique caused *Harper's Bazar* to dub New York "'the Paris of America.'"[177] *Harper's Bazar* can thus be said to have helped cement New York as one of the world's capitals of fashion, especially since a series of magazines which documented trends in style in the American city soon started to appear after the advent of *Bazar,* such as *Delineator*[178] *McCall's*[179] *Woman's Home Companion*[180] *Ladies' Home Journal*[181] and *Pictorial Review.*[182] These magazines were part of the set of American magazines that possessed the highest circulation figures and have thus been termed by historians of magazines as "The Big Six"[183] to which I have already made reference in relation to the competitive advertising climate of the 1900s.

Harper's Bazar may not have been a part of this dominant group of publications, but it stood, at ten cents a copy, as one of the highest priced weeklies for women and was aimed not at a mass market but at a wealthy, leisured one. Beetham considers the matter of class in the history

[174] Peterson, T. *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1964) p.220
[175] Ibid.
[176] *Harper's Bazar,* 2nd November 1867
[177] Ibid.
[178] *Delineator* began its life in 1873 as an advertising catalogue featuring dress patterns and later articles of travel, floral arrangement, beauty and the home and literary fiction
[179] *McCall's,* born in 1873 was a catalogue distributing patterns which then started to include fashion fiction general interest and home service
[180] *Woman's Home Companion* began publication in 1874 but finally settled on this name in 1896, and included sewing published patterns, housekeeping and recipes
[181] *The Ladies' Home Journal* began in 1883 as a supplement to *Tribune and Farmer*
[182] *Pictorial Review* started in1899 and included patterns, fictional series', theatre and literature reviews, articles on fashion, beauty, home decor and entertainment, broadest appeal, large impact on middle class women.
[183] Angeletti, N. & Olivia, A. *In "Vogue": The Illustrated History of the World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine* (London: Rizzoli International Publications, 2006) p.16-17

of women's magazines, and the principle that she applies to the female publication in general are even more applicable to the fashion periodical in particular because of their associations with dress and style. Beetham points out that the activities of leisure and shopping were the "signifier[s] of the wealth and status a woman enjoyed, not in her own right, but by virtue of her husband. Her cultural capital was the mark of his economic capital"[184] Fashion magazines, in particular those high status ones such as *Harper's Baza/ar* and *Vogue* — which focused on haute couture and luxury items rather than the mass produced alternatives — were instrumental in aiding the female body to display her husband's wealth to optimum effect. The female body of the aristocratic or middle classes became an outward manifestation of "bourgeois commodity culture" and their class specific "material privilege."[185] Beetham concludes that the elements of class, leisure and shopping that were bound up in the female form through the excessive interaction within the life of a lady, "became incorporated into the discourses of the magazines."[186]

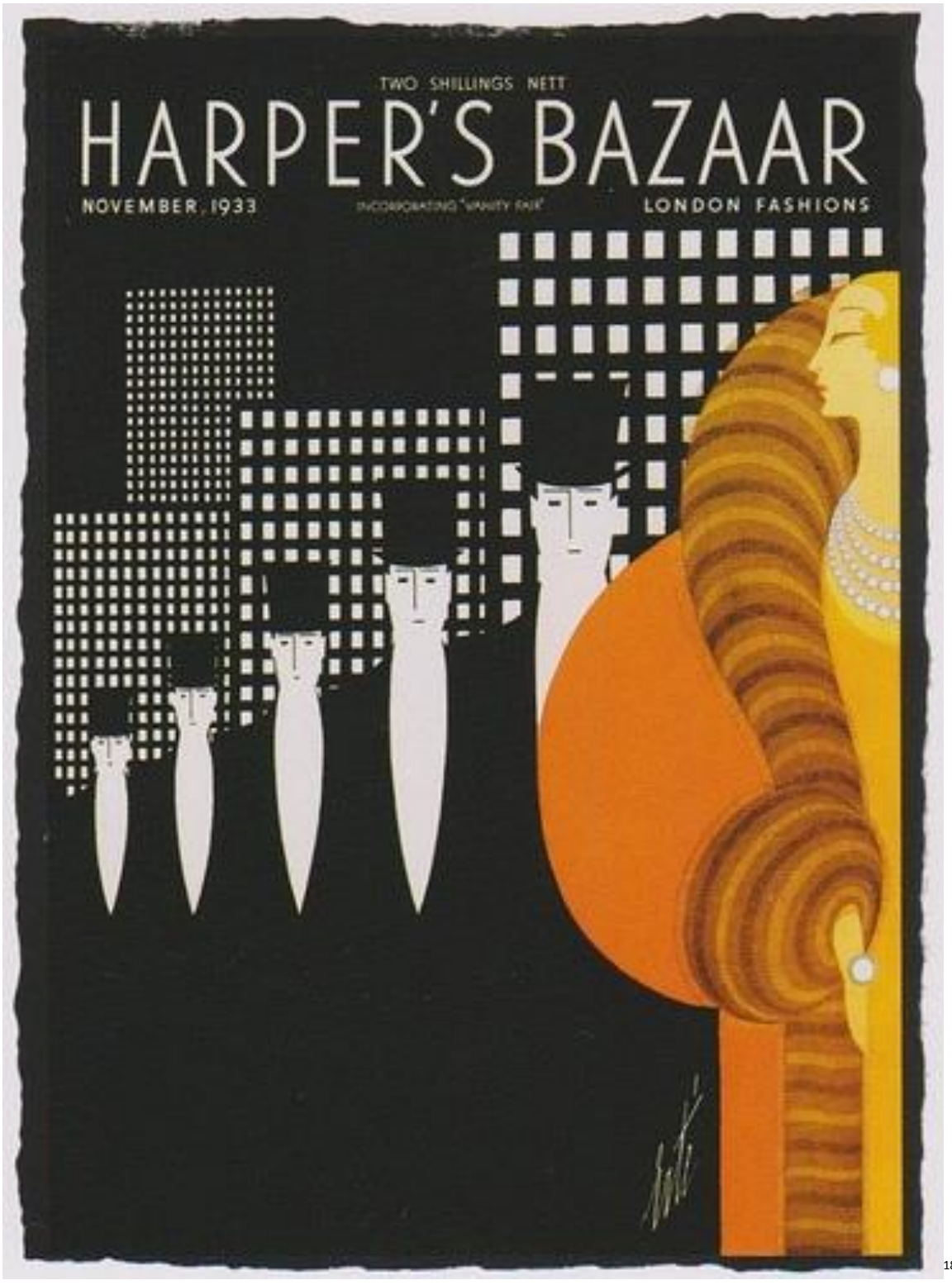
[184] Beetham, M. *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1996) p.29-30
[185] ibid.
[186] idem.



[187]

Figure 28

[187] The first cover of *Harper's Bazaar*, from November 1867
Image sourced from: http://www.harpersbazaar.com/fashion/fashion-photography/bazaar-140-lookbook#slide-1 accessed on 23rd November 2011



[188]

Figure 29

[188] *Harper's Bazaar,* November 1933
Image sourced from: http://observatory.designobserver.com/entry.html?entry=37579
ccessed on 23rd November 2011

Harper's Bazar sat as the building block for Condé Nast's later doctrines of publishing that were bound up in matters of social class. However, *Harper's Bazar* under the Harper publishing group was also intended to be useful and included elements of 'practical utility'[189] as well as matters relating to the beautiful. It was thus also inclined to offer advice to ladies on all aspects of the family circle such as gardening and domestic science *Harper's Bazar* further acted as a trend-setter, establishing the up-to-date clothing that the lesser, lower cost magazines such as those included in "The Big Six" could emulate and offer up to its readers in pattern form. *Bazar* differed from what *Vogue* was to become by running such luxury fashion editorials alongside the more mundane matters surrounding the household. This practical guidance may have been appealing to the average American female, but the magazine's price tag was not. This household information was available at a much cheaper price in other publications such as *Good Housekeeping.* The affluent ladies who could afford a gazette such as *Harper's* could also afford servants: they had no need for household hints and tips. This matter of a confused readership was undoubtedly the cause of *Harper's* decline after 1892 when *Vogue* was launched. *Vogue's* fashions attracted the same upper class ladies that *Harper's Bazar* had done, but paid more attention to the society that wore them. *Harper's* continued to lose money despite becoming a monthly publication in 1901 and this decline continued until the magazine was purchased by one of New York's rising magazine magnates in 1912. *Harper's Bazar* exemplified a clash between the old and new principles of femininity, particularly among the upper legions of the social order: "the discourse of leisure therefore existed as an alternative to that of morality in defining the domestic space"[190] —leisure being the opposite of what was seen as the moral obligation of women as wife, mother, home-maker and apprentice to the ideals of womanhood. The *Harper's Bazar* of Fletcher Harper, capitalised on this dilemma of modernity and combined the elements of leisure,

[189] Beetham, M. *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1996) p.218
[190] ibid. p.29

in the form of its fashion, and the moral by its incorporation of advice on the domestic familial circle.

It was under William Randolph Hurst that *Harper's Bazar* became *Harper's Bazaar* [191] and came to resemble the magazine which is still available on newsstands today — "a thick, glossy, chic, lavishly illustrated monthly devoted to fashions, beauty, fiction and belles-letters."[192]

[193]

Figure 30

This takeover provided *Harper's Bazaar* with stronger content that was able to compete more successfully with *Vogue*. To this day, despite never having overtaken the market lead

[191] The extra "a" added to *Bazaar,* symbolised an Americanisation of the magazine at the time when new magazines started to look to their own country rather than imitating the styles of overseas. The title was finally modified in 1929.
[192] Peterson, T. *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1964) p.220
[193] *Harper's Bazaar*, July 1913.
Sourced from: http://www.fashion-era.com/regency_fashion.htm
accessed on 23rd November 2010

maintained by *Vogue*, *Harper's* remains a staunch "arch-rival."[194] At no one point in history was this rivalry more severe than in the first two decades of the twentieth century. "In 1910, [...] Hearst set up the *National Magazine Company* in London's West End"[195] and in 1929 issued an English edition of the *Bazaar*. These two dates are not to be dismissed lightly. In 1910 Condé Nast was considering the idea of an English edition of *Vogue* and by 1929 this edition had established itself as the forerunning fashion periodical in Britain. From this point onwards, despite both magazine magnates suffering the effects of the Depression and the limitations imposed on the publishing industry by the Second World War, the magazines would remain in head-to-head competition for readers among the upper and aspiring middle classes of leisured ladies.

Before I progress to consider the birth of *Vogue* in England, I would like to pay attention to the methodological importance of acknowledging the transient, periodic nature of magazines: "the periodical is above all an ephemeral form, produced for a particular day, week or month."[196] Acknowledging this fact, in my opinion is even more pivotal in understanding the role of the glossy magazine in the lives of their specific readerships.[197] With the glossy's concentration and preoccupation with reporting on the highest class in society, these particular types of magazines were designed to portray dynamic arenas which were in a state of constant flux; with members shifting in and out of different dresses, parties and friendship circles. The ephemeral form of the magazine was ideally suited to documenting society to those interested in, aspirational of and actually existing within it. Despite of the fleeting nature of their contents, they were not as readily discarded as newspapers and other more cheaply produced magazines, because of their high aesthetic standard. Instead, glossy issues had, and indeed, still have, a tendency to remain in

[194] Peterson, T. *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1964) p.220
[195] Information sourced from:
http://www.h-net.org/~business/bhcweb/publications/BEHonline/2009/coxandmowatt.pdf
accessed on 21st November 2012
[196] Beetham, M. *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1996) p.9
[197] Although magazines were "produced for a particular, day, week or month" it must not be forgotten that these editions were also collected by readers because of their aesthetic appeal. This matter was acknowledged at an earlier point in this chapter.

readers' homes for weeks, for months, sometimes even for years. In short, this particular form of magazine by its very presentation, cover price and often dictatorial informative nature, well met the requirements for a "medium of instruction and interpretation for the leisurely critical reader."[198] In the case of the glossy magazines which have been acknowledged above, it is clear that even from the early issues, the magazines were above and beyond what other popular mass circulation magazines resembled in their respective eras. They were — put romantically — beautiful, and thus, difficult to discard. As well as being important with regards to the physical lifespan of the publication, "the key element in reading the periodical is its double relationship to time. Each number of a periodical is both of its moment and of a series, different from and yet the same as those which have gone before."[199] This component of its being means that magazine study cannot be based solely on one edition or copy of one publication. British *Vogue* is indicative of this factor, especially in regards to this research's consideration of five short years in the magazines ninety-seven year history.

1.4 "In September Something Changed"[200] The launch of British *Vogue*

Perhaps surprisingly, American *Vogue's* circulation in the trenches of Europe during the Great War was second only to the *Saturday Evening Post* and it was whilst the conflict was destroying lives across the map, that the idea for a British edition of the magazine was conceived. Before the outbreak of the First World War, copies of American *Vogue* were being sent to an agency in Germany which then acted as distributors, shipping copies to various locations

[198] Peterson, T. *Magazines in the Twentieth Century* (Illinois: University of Illinois Press, 1964) p.442
[199] Beetham, M. *A Magazine of Her Own? Domesticity and Desire in the Woman's Magazine, 1800-1914* (London: Routledge, 1996) p.12
[200] Words are here adapted from from Woolf, Virginia, "Mr Bennett & Mrs Brown" [1923] in Kime Scott, Bonnie [ed.] *The Gender of Modernism: A Critical Anthology* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990) pg.634-641. In this influential essay, Woolf is noted as stating: "On or about December 1910, human character changed. I am not saying that one went out, as one might into a garden, and there saw that a rose had flowered, or that a hen had laid an egg. The change was not sudden and definite like that. But a change there was, nevertheless; and, since one must be arbitrary, let us date it about the year 1910."

throughout Great Britain. Nast had begun this "European Campaign of his own"[201] with the intention of gaining English advertisers for his American pages: England after all was viewed as being the home of taste, class and style. The initial "sluggish"[202] response was explained using the same reasoning — "what, after all, could the English possibly learn from the Americans in the field of quality and style?"[203] The young Englishman, William Wood was put in charge of securing English advertising by ensuring *Vogue's* distribution to central London newsstands where it would be well displayed and existed as an alternative to the previously popular French and Viennese fashion magazines which were already becoming hard to find. As a result, "by the outbreak of the war in 1914, American *Vogue* in England was selling between three and four thousand copies"[204] and by 1916 this figure had more than quadrupled. The consequences of warfare, however, had a detrimental effect on *Vogue's* distribution, as paper began to be strictly rationed. Wood's answer to this was to request *Vogue* devoid of all advertising which, interestingly, had no effect on its sales. It was invariably the hindrance of non-essential shipping regulations which led another Englishman, Walter Mass,[205] to suggest an entirely English edition of *Vogue.* Wood stood firmly behind such an idea, secure in the knowledge that he could gain a vast amount of English advertising for an English magazine with the established name of *Vogue*. William Wood became the first publisher, manager and managing editor of the newly born British *Vogue*. George W. Kettle —proprietor of the *Dorland Advertising Agency* in Britain in charge of the management of *Vogue's* advertisements —became its advertising manager until Condé Nast set up *Vogue's* own internal advertisement department in 1922.[206]

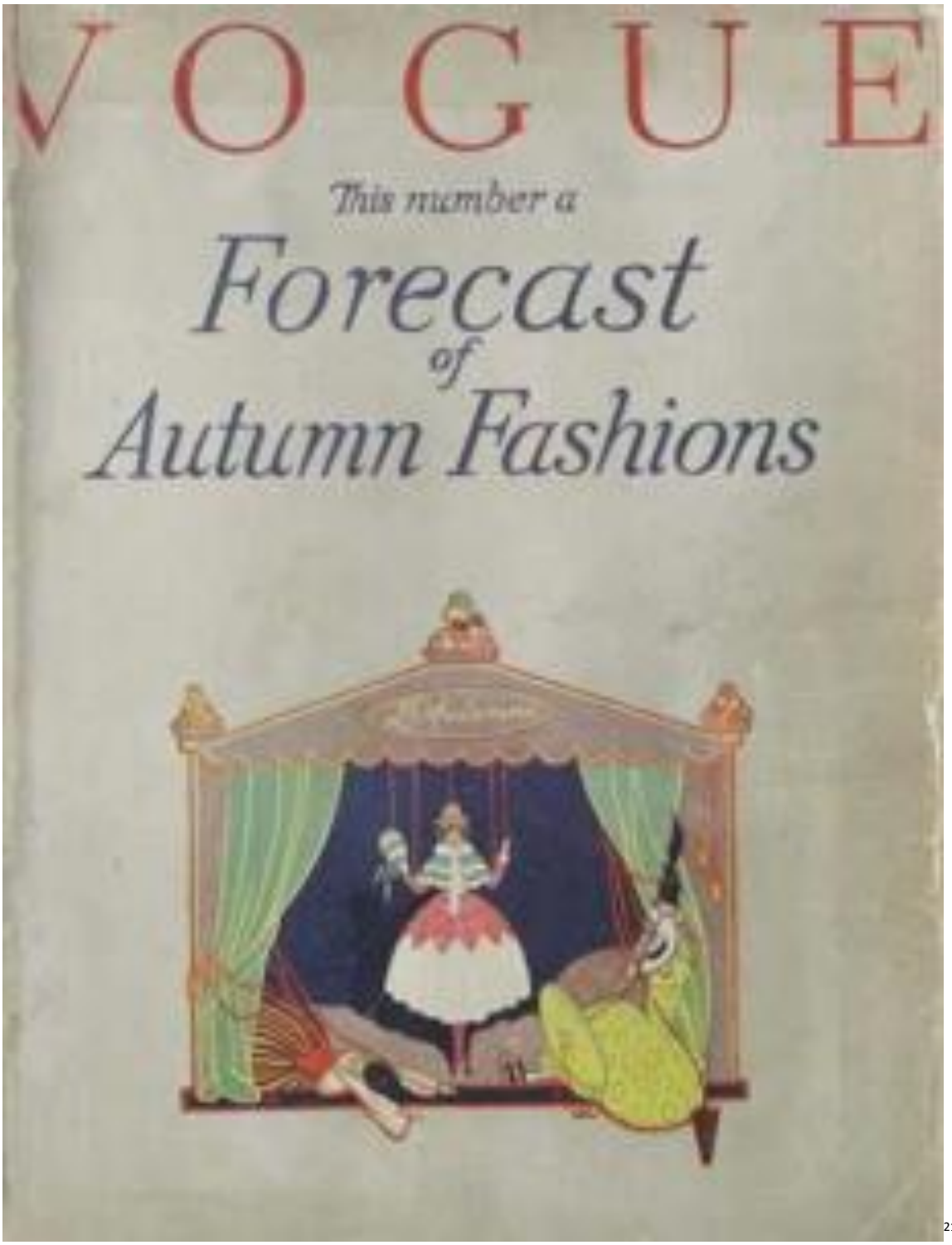
[201] Seebohm, Caroline, The *Man Who Was Vogue: The Life and Times of Condé Nast* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Limited, 1982) p.124
[202] ibid. p.125
[203] ibid. p.123
[204] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.41
[205] Walter Mass was the head of the Dorland Advertising Agency in the Paris office and since 1912 had been the advertising representative *for Vogue, House & Garden* and *Vanity Fair.*
[206] Interestingly, as noted by Seebohn, the "publisher and his advertising manager did not get on, occasioning the office joke that there was too much Wood under the Kettle." Seebohm, Caroline, The *Man Who Was Vogue: The Life and Times of Condé Nast* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Limited, 1982) p.124

The first issue of *Brogue*, as it became affectionately known in the New York office, appeared on the newsstands of Britain on September 15th 1916. Its front cover declared it to be "A Forecast of Autumn Fashions" and its introductory price was set at one shilling. For the interests of comparison to the issues that were later to appear under the formal editorship of Dorothy Todd, I have chosen to include a full list of its contents (appendix 1.1.) It should also be noted that in the initial issue there was fifty eight "box" adverts, twelve full-page advertisements and two half-page advertisements[207] from many of the big-names in the fashion industry at the time. These included Aquascutum, Maison Lewis, William Whitely, Ltd., Helena Rubenstein and Selfridges & Co. who, in their advertisement, declared *Vogue* to be "a beautifully printed journal."[208] This indeed it was, upholding its promise to advertisements that "nothing which had made *Vogue* what it is will be deleted."[209] *Brogue's* opening issue contained a total of one hundred and twelve pages, and content was dominated by fashion news from Paris, London and Russia, demonstrating the constant cosmopolitanism of the industry even during wartime. Society news also claims its fair share of the editorial space, consisting of the two mandatory full page portraits of well dressed and immaculately presented society belles, placed alongside annotated snapshots of the smart and the sophisticated in their various leisurely pursuits. There is also a heavy focus on the home, interior decoration, soft furnishings and the garden.

What were to become regular features also made their first appearance for *Brogue* in this issue, including "Seen in the Shops", "Seen on the Stage", "*Vogue* Pattern Service" and "Smart Fashions for Limited Incomes." In this issue there was no sign of reviews of current books, nor any mention of literature at all. The regular feature which was dedicated to books and appropriately entitled, "Turning Over New Leaves" first appeared one month later in the issue of October 15th 1916, although it was not given a large amount of space and indeed could have been overlooked

[207] Seebohm, Caroline, The *Man Who Was Vogue: The Life and Times of Condé Nast* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Limited, 1982)p.123 "A full black and white page was to cost £25, a colour page £35."
[208] Selfridges & Co. "Advertisement" *Vogue*, 15th September 1916 p.17
[209] Nast as cited in Seebohm, Caroline, The *Man Who Was Vogue: The Life and Times of Condé Nast* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Limited, 1982) p.123

due to its rather dismissive placing amidst the advertisements which followed the main editorial content. Also included was an article entitled, "Le Monde Qui S'amuse." This particular article



[210]

Figure 31

[210] The cover of the first edition of British *Vogue* , "A Forecast of Autumn Fashion" 15th September 1916

was to reoccur throughout the war years, existing as a rather whimsical form of war reporting often with an emphasis on the notion of escapism. The article from November 15th decreed "with the advent of the first depressing fog our thoughts turn for solace to the fairy land of dreams."[211] In much the same vein the article from the issue of 1st December stated: "the only things that are not done are the things we used to do."[212]

I also wish to draw attention to the fact that in the opening issue, all but five of the articles are anonymous. This matter of the un-named author or reporter is important in terms of *Vogue's* editorial policies as a whole and also revealing as to why the era of Todd's editorship stands as an anomaly in *Vogue's* history. The extent to which Turnure was so committed to presenting the aims of *Vogue* in order to preserve a loyal following from its readers, was also shown in another of his policies relating to authorship. Edna Woolman Chase in her auto-biography states:

> Another policy he [Arthur Turnure] instigated and that the magazine has followed to this day[213] was that of anonymity except in especially commissioned articles. We [*Vogue*] publish comparatively few signed features. '*Vogue* says' is what counts in our pages rather than personal opinion.[214]

The effect this policy had was to empower the magazine rather than any single author. *Vogue* would continually be associated with presenting unswervingly professional and unquestionably expert fashion knowledge without being influenced by the taste or viewpoint of an individual contributor. Although *Vogue's* editorial content was assembled through the words of several

[211] Anonymous, "Le Monde Qui S'Amuse" British *Vogue*, 15th November 1916 p.53
[212] Anonymous, "Le Monde Qui S'Amuse" British *Vogue*, 1st December 1916 p.52
[213] Woolman Chase is likely referring to only the American Edition here as articles in the English edition are now accompanied, in the most part, by the author's name.
[214] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.41

different authorial voices, the proprietor and editor in chief continually ensured that only *Vogue's* message was maintained. This was preserved through an omnipresent third person narrative which stressed a belief in its own superiority and its self made reputation for excellence. Edna Woolman Chase illustrates the extent and success of this principle in an amusing and revealing anecdote, which is cited below.

> An example of how well this policy was inculcated into our readers occurred in the early days. It was late in the afternoon, just past closing time, when a young woman got out of the lift at our offices and, spotting Tom McCready who was waiting to go down, said, "I want to see someone about that collar described in this week's *Vogue*, in the 'Seen in the Shops' column." One of our staff who was passing overheard her. "Perhaps I can help you," she said. "I wrote the article."The young woman looked at her in amazement. "You wrote it! I thought *Vogue* wrote it." It is a misconception we have tried to foster.[215]

Vogue adopted this system of misconception in order to create itself into a trusted brand. This notion came under attack from Dorothy Todd during her editorship in the 1920s when she steered *Vogue* towards being an increasingly literary-led publication, showcasing talents of the cultural avant-garde. Dorothy Todd was to place a greater emphasis on the presentation of literature, music, art and design in the pages of *Vogue,* whilst simultaneously presenting high-fashion. It is this dual presentation that will be the main consideration of this work in the subsequent chapters.

Dorothy Todd is acknowledged in Woolman Chase's autobiography to have been British *Vogue's* first editor during the early months of its entrenchment within the magazine industry in

[215] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.41

England. After the initial start-up, Todd was flown back to the New York office in order to be trained in the doctrines of "*Vogue* policies and format" before the higher management thought her well-enough equipped to return to the helm of British *Vogue* in 1922. I have been able to source multiple shipping records that document Todd's travels across the Atlantic during her *Vogue* training, and I believe it is necessary to reference these travels in order to gain a more thorough insight — especially on consideration of the lack of any official records being held by *Vogue* itself. The first record of Todd's travelling trail is from 14th June 1915 when she arrives, jobless, from Liverpool in New York at the age of thirty-two, accompanied by her mother, Ruthella. On the 30th July the following year, Todd returns to England now listed under the occupation of "journalist," apparently secure in her newly acquired position on the staff of the newly to be launched British *Vogue*. After this, there are no records of travel until 18th September 1919,[216] which is also listed in the United States Federal Census of 1920[217] to have been the official date of Todd's immigration to America. It is apparent that she does not return to England until 17th February 1923 when she returns as a "magazine editor."

Whilst Dorothy Todd was being trained and residing in New York, the fashion conscious Elspeth Champcommunal was instated as editor and is acknowledged to have been the first of British *Vogue's* official editors. Work recently completed by Lisa Cohen offers up revelations regarding "Champco" that dramatically link her with the circle of Todd and Madge Garland and is therefore worthy of an amount of reference here in this comprehensive guide to the beginnings of British *Vogue*.

[216] On this date, Todd travels between Liverpool and St Albans, Vermont listed as a "editor and traveller" and accompanied this time by her 13 year old daughter, Helen.
[217] The census record shows that Dorothy Todd lived as a boarder alongside Helen Todd whilst working as an editor in the city within District 7.

Elspeth Mary Hodgson was born in Woolwich on 21st June 1888 and married the French painter, Jean Joseph Champcommunal in 1909. Jean Joseph was killed in action in 1914. The couple had one daughter, Marie Francoise Chloe Chamcommunal, (later Tyner) who recounts

Figure 32

Figure 33

much of the information about her mother and her circle of friends in Lisa Cohen's work. Previous works that document the beginnings of British *Vogue* seldom offer up any information regarding Champcommunal, let alone her movements within the sexual subcultures of Paris, London and New York. It would appear that Champcommunal and Dorothy Todd were connected not only through British *Vogue*, but also through the circles in which they socialised. The many relationships involved demonstrate the extent of the "nexus of sexuality, art and spirituality for members of the international bohemia during the inter-war period."[220]

[218] Elspeth Champcommunal with her own designs being modelled. Sourced from Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) unnumbered insert

[219] Elspeth Champcommunal photographed by Man Ray in French *Vogue*, taken from the original feature in the British edition. Anonymous " Contemporary decoration in the salons of two new firms" *Vogue*, Early May 1926 p.82

[220] Baggett, Holly, A. (ed.), *Dear Tiny Heart: The Letters of Jane Heap and Florence Reynolds* (New York: New York University Press, 2000) p.1

At the centre of this web of association lay Champcommunal's relationship with Jane Heap, co-editor of the American literary and artistic publication, *The Little Review*.[221] The couple met in Paris whilst "Champco" — as she was known to her friends — was working as a designer for the couture house of Worth. The two women would continue to be involved with each other until Heap's death in 1964. Between 1922 and 1926, Heap was very much a part of the expatriate community of the left-bank in Paris and during this time she met the philosopher George Gurijeff who had founded the *Institute for the Harmonious Development of Man*. At the beginning of the 1930s Heap was so much inspired by Gurijeff's mystical work that she formed the female only study group with the involvement of Gurijeff himself which was to become known as "Ropes." It is very probable that given Champcommunal's own interest in Gurijeff and her attendance at these meetings, as well as her later travels to England to set up a London based group with Heap, that the couple can be said to have met post 1922, when Champco had moved to Paris.

It is consistently apparent that Champco's real passion did not lie in the task of "adding photographs of upper-class English women to an American publication," which the job of being editor of *Brogue* in its embryonic stages largely entailed, but within the world of fashion in a much more pro-active sense. She left *Vogue* in 1922 to open her own couture house in Paris and in so doing became the only English woman ever to do so. Thus living in France full-time as a result of her fashion business and her designing for the recently amalgamated house of Reville and Worth,

[221] *The Little Review* was founded by Margaret Anderson in Chicago in March 1914 and its motto was: "Making No Compromise With the Public Taste." During its first three years, *The Little Review* was an overt and rebellious supporter of Imagism and published the work of Amy Lowell, Richard Aldington and Sherwood Anderson among many other names now synonymous with the movement. It was when Ezra Pound joined the magazine in 1917 that *The Little Review* became the transatlantic, cosmopolitan magazine that it is now famous for being and published, among others, the work of Gertrude Stein, T. S. Elliot, Dorothy Richardson, Djuna Barnes, W.B. Yeats and Mina Loy. The magazine is most renowned for its serialization of James Joyce's *Ulysses* in twenty-three instalments between 1918 and 1920. The serial was abruptly stopped after the Society for the Suppression of Vice charged *The Little Review* with obscenity. During its fifteen years of publication, *The Little Review* moved from Chicago to San Francisco and then took up residence in the bohemian Greenwich Village, New York, where it would remain until its closure in 1929. Margaret Anderson met Jane Heap in 1916 and employed her as co-editor. Heap would sign her opinionated editorials "jh" and the couple had a long-term relationship which began to break down after the Obscenity Trail. During this time of strife, the couple both had affairs (Heap most notably with Djuna Barnes). They did however remain bound by the two sons of Anderson's sister, whom Heap had adopted. The two children, post 1925, were brought by Alice B. Toklas and Gertrude Stein. The last edition of *The Little Review* was put together in Paris in The Hotel Bonaparte, in the rooms of the lovers Solita Solano and Janet Flanner.

she was often visited at her home in Vaison-la-Romaine in the Vaucluse by Roger Fry and Charles and Marie Mauron. She was also friends with Vanessa Bell, Cederic Morris "and other English artists." and was extremely close to Nicole Groult.[222] Her closeness to the two "Modernist Madonna's"[223] of *Vogue* —Madge Garland and Dorothy Todd— was such that when she left the magazine for Paris, the pair dwelt together in her London home of 80 Church Street, Chelsea.[224]

Champco was a "forceful, sophisticated woman – 'handsome' in the words of her friend Janet Flanner,"[225] but despite her romantic involvement with influential co-editor of *The Little Review,* Jane Heap, had no journalistic experience. It is clear that she was employed by *Vogue* for being incredibly knowledgeable and passionate about fashion in the hope that her personal relationships within this sphere would aid Nasts' theory of advertising. When Champcommunal left *Vogue* however, its circulation had dropped dramatically to below 9,000 and Ruth Anderson was posted as inter-rim editor while Dorothy Todd completed her *Vogue* training.

Dorothy Todd happened to be living in New York at a great time of dynamic rebellion in the spheres of art and literature: subjects which stimulated and inspired her. During this time, because of her involvement with Condé Nast Publications, she is almost certain to have mingled with some of the influential figures documenting these changes in the presentation of ideas as well as with the creators of the works themselves. It is therefore, really not surprising that during

[222] Nicole Groult was the sister of influential fashion designer Paul Poiret and married fellow designer André Groult in 1907. She was close friends with Marie Laurencin and was known for her costume designs for influential contemporary ballets.

[223] Pender, Anne, "Modernist Madonna's: Dorothy Todd, Madge Garland and Virginia Woolf" in *Women's History Review, Volume 16, Issue 4* (London: Routledge, 2007) p.519-533

[224] In Cohen's work, Chloe Tyner, Champcommunal's daughter, states how "Madge Garland was influenced and made by Champco" And how "it is probable that Elspeth Champcomunnal arranged for Madge and Ewart to be married by a pacifist minster Vicar at St. Martins." Significantly, Elspeth also became a "refuge" for Madge Garland during the tumultuous latter years of her relationship with Todd. Tyner recalls how, "Madge went to recuperate in Champco's childhood home on the Isle of Wight. […] By the autumn of 1944, Madge and Champco were lodging together in Grosvenor Street, so as to be able to reach their jobs." Chloe Tyner also reveals more than a professional *Vogue* relationship between Dorothy Todd and Elsepeth Champcommunal as she recall's how Todd was also "the absolute making of Madge" and also pays tribute to Todd's "tremendous mind [which was] very quick, very amusing." Tyner talks of not knowing who Helen Todd's parents were: "we didn't talk of such things" and how after she was removed as editor of *Vogue* Todd, "went downhill." Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.237

[225] ibid. p.238

the course of her five year editorship she would utilise *Vogue* as a mouthpiece to demonstrate to the English audience the great achievements taking place across the globe. She was not a great fashionista as Champcommunal had been before her, but she would demonstrate the extent of her ability to be a great editor of a great fashion magazine. She would take the editorial space offered to her by British *Vogue* and present the fashions of the body alongside the very latest fashions of the mind. The upcoming chapter will document the American modernism which Todd was exposed to during her *Vogue* training in New York, as well as examine some of the magazines she would have come in contact with and used as sources of inspiration for own particular display of modernism.

1.5 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has sought to identify the main protagonists — be they people or pages — that were instrumental in the forming of *Vogue* magazine in both America and England. In doing this, I have hoped to provide the necessary context for understanding the extent of the change experienced by British *Vogue* under the editorship of Dorothy Todd. I have also aimed to introduce the methodology I shall be using in the following chapters in order to complete such an in depth study of a relatively short era within the much larger historical time period of the magazine. I have also aimed to demonstrate that this methodology is formed on the basis of an understanding of not only analysing the contents of the magazine themselves but comprehending their importance in relation to the "*Vogue* formula" — the prescribed, highly regimented system used to present the style, the fashion, the society that mattered. It is also important to acknowledge before I continue that it is this "formula" that has maintained *Vogue's* position in the magazine marketplace. Despite the rich and varied histories of the many other magazines mentioned throughout this introductory chapter and their short and long term effects upon the history of publications in general, *Vogue* remains as a constant forceful presence in the lives of

women and on the newsstands of multiple continents, relatively unchanged in terms of its initial principles at the time of its founding in 1892.

I have also included an amount of research with regards to the key characters in the story of *Vogue's* early years with the intention of highlighting the incongruity of Dorothy Todd in relation to such a magazine as *Vogue.* Whereas Arthur Turnure was dedicated to society, himself being a part of it, Edna Woolman Chase being interested in fashion, ensuring her *Vogu*e staffed aptly represented the finest and most modish in adornment for young ladies, and Nast instigating the long lasting system of advertising crucial to *Vogue's* success, Dorothy Todd had seemingly little to do with any of the aspects that had combined to make *Vogue, Vogue*. In the upcoming chapters Todd's intentions for the magazine will become increasingly clear and I hope to show why she may have sought to create such a magazine through utilising the pages of *Vogue* as well as illustrate that although her time as editor ended abruptly after only five years, her modernist experiment can be said to have been a success after all.

Throughout this chapter I have also stated that *Vogue* was not, especially between 1922 and 1926, a magazine that could be easily considered part of the mass market. It is *Vogue's* principles of advertising, selective readership and contents which set it in stark contrast to the high readership magazines which we would define as being part of the mass market, rather than the amount of revenue that it produces per annum. This assertion will be more extensively explained in the coming chapter where I will seek to provide evidence that attempts to prove the validity of my argument. This will be particularly relevant in terms of the nature of the other magazines considered which have come to be identified as "little" or "modernist" magazines. It is to these forms of periodicals which I believe the *Vogue* of Dorothy Todd was more closely aligned to, and the difference between them is far from being as distinctive as scholars have previously accepted.

Chapter Two

"Modernism began in the Magazines"[226]:

The Inspirations for Todd's *Vogue*

Figure 34

[226] Scholes, Robert and Wulfman Clifford, "Modernism in the Magazines—The Case of Visual Art" *in Modernism in the Magazines: An Introduction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010)
Sourced from: http://dl.lib.brown.edu/mjp/render.php?view=mjp_object&id=EgoistCollection accessed on 26th September 2013

2.1 Chapter Introduction

In the previous chapter I aimed to show that from its very inception, *Vogue* distinguished itself from the mass market publications it accompanied on the newsstands of America — and subsequently of England — in terms of both its periodical codes and principles of advertising and circulation. From this point in the research I wish to argue that these initial distinctions became even more pronounced during the editorship of Dorothy Todd between 1922 and 1926, manifesting most predominantly in her presentation of literary and artistic modernism, alongside a unique presentation of contemporary fashion and style. Under Todd, *Vogue* became an anomaly in the sphere of female fashion magazines and also a stranger to its own American mother publication. Instead, it sought a familial literary similarity with another form of publication: the modernist magazine. At the start of chapter one I acknowledged how the period of the fin de siècle "was one of enormous growth in the publication of printed matter of all kinds,"[227] which was spurred on by advances in printing technologies. The availability of affordable paper accompanied by the growth in the importance of advertising, combined to create an explosion of mass-market magazines which, with their high circulations, in turn benefitted the expansion of capitalist commodity culture. This magazine revolution also accompanied some expansive cultural shifts. The formative era between 1890 and 1920 which bred such an obsession with consumerism, also propagated an amount of dissatisfaction and dismay and thus, a sense of crisis began to pervade within the pages of a very different type of magazine. Little magazines of this period became the antithesis of the mass market periodical and were spawned by a need to oppose the "culture controlled by corporations; public debate constructed by advertisers' prejudices; profit and the bottom line sacrificing the original, the creative, to the tried and true, to the lowest common denominator; copy that requires very little thought and panders to readers'

[227] Brooker, Peter & Thacker, Andrew [eds.] *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.69

taste for the sensational, uncritical, and merely entertaining."[228] Ian Fletcher has claimed that "the 1890s were the founding period of that most crucial form of modern artistic action, the small magazines"[229] which first and foremost set themselves apart from, and openly in opposition to, the mechanical processes which governed the production of mass market magazines. Many of the periodicals circulating around the time of the "fin de siècle [reveal] many of the themes and issues that were to delineate the shape of the modernist movement of the twentieth century."[230] They were however, much more active in their simultaneous "resistance to commercial philistinism and complicit in the marketing of themselves as high quality commodities"[231] than later examples of little magazines actually were.

The terms little magazine and modernist magazine are often mistakenly identified as synonymous. The former had, however, existed long before modernism took advantage of its form and consequently caused the said confusion. Little magazines, motivated by presenting a particular cultural phenomena, position or practice, began publication long before the period that spurred the growth of modernism and indeed, continue to maintain a presence in the present realm of publications. However, I do not wish to begin by seeking to define the little magazine, nor do I intend to delve into intricate explorations of the label modernist magazine. Instead, I wish to identify the features which inform the general understanding of these publications and how between 1922 and 1926, *Vogue* can be identified as sharing the majority of these defining factors. Having identified these features to be present in Todd's magazine, *Vogue* thus becomes more comparable to the modernist magazines rather than the examples of mass-market fashion journals I discussed in chapter one. Just as the makers of modernism utilised the already established form of the magazine to discuss and disseminate their cause, so too did Todd. The

[228] Morrison, Mark, S, *The Public Face of Modernism: Little Magazines, Audiences and Reception 1905-1920* (Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press, 2001) p.5
[229] Brooker, Peter & Thacker, Andrew [eds.] *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.70
[230] ibid. p.75
[231] ibid. p.73

vehicle she chose however, was not quite so little and its name alone evokes a certain set of connotations that has had the effect of limiting contemporary scholars in their understanding of such a complicated magazine which is not wholly capable of being neatly defined or categorised. As *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines* is to date the most wide ranging collection of authorities within this particular field of academic enquiry, I wish to question why — if the aim of the collection was to indeed "reveal the story of modernism in the magazines"[232] — the *Vogue* of Todd was not a part of this collective narrative. Instead, *Vogue* is rather disappointingly portrayed as just another women's fashion magazine on the overcrowded newsstands. The extent of this misunderstanding comes across most severely in the work of Jane Dowson who subtly implicates *Vogue* as "mindless" when she states: "In the pages of *Time and Tide*, intellectual women could eschew the myths and mindless femininity maintained through popular women's magazines. *Vogue* had been inaugurated in Britain in 1919."[233] Not only is this statement factually incorrect,[234] its conceptions of *Vogue* are also erroneous. Subsequent chapters of this research will detail how *Vogue* under Todd was far from "mindless" and was also very much concerned with attracting the "intellectual woman." Furthermore, *Vogue* from the advent of Todd, sought to foster the idea that clothing was not the only manifestation of fashion: there were also fashions in cultural practices and thus the magazine promoted the very modern notion that an intellectual woman was a fashionable woman and vice versa. I intend this section of my research to act as the chapter that was missing from the collection of essays in Brooker and Thacker's work, and therefore seek to demonstrate the relatively small divide between Todd's *Vogue* and the many other literary and artistic magazines, deserving to be rightly acknowledge as part of the dialogue of the magazines of modernism.

[232] Thacker, Andrew, "Modernist Magazines Research Seminar, Session 1: Rhythm Magazine," held at University College London, The Institute of English Studies, Senate House, London on 10th October 2013

[233] Dowson, Jane, "Interventions in the Public Sphere: Time and Tide (1920-1930) and The Bermondsey Book (1923-1930)" in Brooker, Peter & Thacker, Andrew [eds.] *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) 530-551 p.536

[234] As I have already stated, the first issue of British *Vogue* appeared in September 1916.

At the centre of this argument which seeks to align the *Vogue* of Todd to the chosen examples of modernist magazines, are the set of intentions that motivated the initial publication of, and the agendas of modernist magazines. The raison d'êtres of these magazines often reveal themselves in manifestos and announcements in the pages of the magazines themselves. Brooker and Thacker explain why "the editors and sponsors embarked on the often financially perilous course" of publishing a little magazine: "they felt [...] they would make a difference; that a fight for purely aesthetic motives or for a new sort of literature was worth the struggles and penury."[235] One of the magazines to which I will later pay substantial attention —*The Dial* — made its intentions known in every issue through "Comment" — an anonymous article most likely authored by the editor.[236] This piece constantly reaffirmed *The Dial's* motives as a modernist literary magazine. In the "Comment" of January 1923 for example, the author states:

> We were told we had overestimated the American public and that our willingness to publish work which was unconventional in form would make us permanently unacceptable to conservative American taste. Some of our unconventionalities of 1920 are now in magazines with ten times our circulation."[237]

This conviction and belief in its own capabilities continued:

> We shall propose to publish the best work we can discover without considering those external items — the age of the artist or his school or the precise degree in which his form coincides with contemporary notions of what is right — which seem to us wholly irrelevant.[238]

[235] Brooker, Peter & Thacker, Andrew [eds.] *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.74
[236] From 1920 until 1926, *The Dial* was edited by Scofield Thayer. After suffering a nervous breakdown, Thayer was replaced by Marianne Moore in 1926.
[237] Anonymous, "Comment" *The Dial*, January 1923 p.167
[238] ibid.p.168

The Dial incessantly proclaimed its dedication to individual works of art regardless of "external factors" and prior popularity. It was instead motivated by a desire to publicise creative works that may have otherwise remained unrecognised. The team behind *The Dial* were so committed to developing and promoting the new forms that they instigated *The Dial Award*[239] in 1921, which awarded outstanding "service to letters" with a two thousand dollar prize. The prize money was intended to aid the winner by easing the strain caused by financial anxiousness and therefore generating a living condition more appropriate to the creation of a work of art.

The *Vogue* of Dorothy Todd also began the new era by stating its intentions:

> *Vogue* has no intention of confining its pages to hats and frocks. In literature, the drama, art and architecture the same spirit of change is seen at work, and to the intelligent observer the interplay of suggestion and influence between all these things is one of the fascinations of the study of the contemporary world.[240]

Todd's inception marked the beginnings of *Vogue's* intellectual development. The proclamation above reveals how fashion was no longer to be considered in isolation from other important forms of culture. Todd and her editorial team understood that a great change was occurring in the art world and wanted to make others — *Vogue's* readers — aware of these developments. Todd utilised an established magazine as a vehicle in which to promote modernism in art and literature to a wider audience and it thus became "a guide to the modern movement."[241] This "guide" did not seek to exile fashion. The fashion *Vogue* was renowned for presenting continued to maintain a strong editorial presence throughout Todd's editorship, as she developed the idea that fashion was as much a part of art as literary, painted and musical forms. This presentation of modernism

[239] Between 1921 and 1928 the winners of the yearly award were, in order of receipt: Sherwood Anderson, T.S. Eliot, Van Wyck Brooks, Marianne Moore, E.E. Cummings, William Carlos Williams, Ezra Pound and Kenneth Burke.
[240] Anonymous, British *Vogue*, Early April 1925 p.xiv
[241] West, Rebecca, cited in Russell Noble, Joan, [ed.*] Recollections of Virginia Woolf* (London: Peter Owen, 1972) p.90

was deemed unique by the contributors themselves — "there never was such a paper"[242] eulogized Rebecca West, years after Todd's removal.

Founder and editor of *The Criterion*, T.S. Eliot, acknowledged that a magazine which considered literature above all else would appeal to both "intelligent persons with literary taste [as well as the] man of general culture."[243] This ability to both interest and instruct, to educate and to rouse enjoyment, was an aptitude also possessed by the pages of Todd's *Vogue.* Between 1922 and 1926 *Vogue* maintained its position as being the ultimate source of authority regarding fashion as well as becoming the instructor to persons interested in culture and society. *Vogue's* dual role here, like that of a successful literary review, extended beyond the purely pedagogical. Under Todd, *Vogue* published articles "that mapped contemporary literary currents and stylistic conventions, not unlike the material appearing in more 'serious' settings"[244] and therefore aimed at those readers specifically interested in literature and the arts as well as those interested in cultural matters — of which fashion is also a part.

Motivated, as the majority of the little magazines of the era were by presenting the "new sort of literature," they then continued along their chosen editorial path by consciously identifying themselves as "advocates of an adversarial minority cultural position."[245] These magazines created a "dialogue network of modern arts and ideas"[246] — a dialogue, which I believe Todd's *Vogue* was very much a part of. Considering Thacker and Brooker's initial outline of how to define and identify a modernist magazine, it is somewhat difficult not to place Todd's *Vogue* within this nexus:

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[242] West, Rebecca, cited in Russell Noble, Joan, [ed*.] Recollections of Virginia Woolf* (London: Peter Owen, 1972) p.90
[243] Eliot, T.S, "The Idea of a Literary Review," *New Criterion*, Volume 4, Number 1, January 1926 p.2-4
[244] Mahood, Aurelea, "Fashioning Readers: The Avant-Garde and British *Vogue*, 1920-1929" in *Women: A Cultural Review,* Volume 13, Number 1 (London: Taylor and Francis, 2002) pp.37-47 p.42
[245] Brooker, Peter & Thacker, Andrew [eds.] *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.8
[246] ibid. p.9

> Our judgment over what to count as a "modernist magazine" has centred upon an understanding of the dominant character of a magazine, of how it contains sufficient material to constitute some version of modernism or significant discussion of modernism, or is closely related to other important contemporary cultural formations or attitudes towards the newness of social modernity.[247]

Brooker and Thacker acknowledge that mass market magazines did indeed play a part in this dialogue and this presentation of modernism, especially in terms of their printing of contemporary artworks and reviews of theatrical performances, music recitals and gallery openings. The role of *Vogue* in particular was much more extensive in its promotion and dissemination of modernism than the majority of criticism acknowledges. Conceptions about *Vogue* no doubt originate from the notoriety of its title. Few people would consider *Vogue* to be anything but a fashion paper. Although being known as "the world's most famous fashion magazine"[248] is no negative association, the label does become somewhat of a hindrance when attempting to argue for *Vogue's* involvement within a more intellectual and academic discourse. I believe that these conceptions need to be dismissed in order to fully appreciate the involvement of *Vogue* during this period of cultural change.

The presentation and exploration of the new which the modernist magazines manifested, led them to become considered as rebels against established conventions and traditions in the cultural spheres. Their dedication to publishing the new, visionary and different often created the danger of possible censorship: the most famous example being *The Little Review's* serialization of James Joyce's *Ulysses.* First appearing in *The Little Review* under the editorship and co-editorship of Margaret Anderson and Jane Heap in March 1918, *Ulysses* was printed in twenty three more

[247] Brooker, Peter & Thacker, Andrew [eds.] *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.11
[248] Angeletti, N. & Olivia, A. *In "Vogue:" The Illustrated History of the World's Most Famous Fashion Magazine* (London: Rizzoli International Publications, 2006)

episodes. These instalments culminated, but did not conclude, in the issue of November / December 1920 after the courts — compelled by the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice — banned the book from publication. Because of the work's presentation of licentiousness and supposed immoral themes, the magazine's editors were also convicted with a fifty dollar fine. In July 1922, *The Dial* heralded *The Little Review* and its editors as "the protomartyrs of the cause"[249] for printing such revolutionary work and for seeking to emancipate the populace from a restricting "literary edict."[250] *Ulysses* was published by Sylvia Beech on 2nd February 1922 through her Paris bookstore, "Shakespeare & Company." Smuggled copies of the book sold for fifty dollars in New York, but anyone who attempted to publish or sell the book in America was fined one thousand dollars and sentenced to a year imprisonment.[251] This incident reveals the extremity of the effects of publishing such revolutionary work, the effects of the dialogue between different modernist magazines and their willingness to unite under a shared cause.

The years between 1920 and 1930, reveal the "emergence of editors [as] figures of standing and influence"[252] Anderson and Heap at *The Little Review* exemplifying just how significant an editorial figure could become through their choice to publish Joyce even while the legal proceedings were in full motion. Another example of a prominent editorship can be seen in the career of Marianne Moore at *The Dial* and also by T.S. Eliot at his own creation, *The Criterion*. Given that these magazines were "at once dogged by the costs of production, haunted by the treat of censorship, at loggerheads with more conventional publications, and at war with the philistinism of a prevailing business culture"[253] it is no surprise that a strong-willed, strong-minded, dominant and passionate character was needed to maintain the magazine. An editor

[249]Gillers, Stephen "A Tendency to Deprave and Corrupt: The Transformation of American Obscenity Law from Hiklin to Ulysses" *Washington University Law Review,* Volume 85, Number 2, 2007
Sourced from: http://digitalcommons.law.wustl.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1147&context=lawreview
accessed on 27th September 2013.
[250] ibid.
[251] idem
[252] Brooker, Peter & Thacker, Andrew [eds.] *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.339
[253] ibid.p.1

during this dynamic era needed to stand with conviction behind the magazines message, to encourage innovative contributions, to sustain a dedicated readership and above all to steer the publication away from the threat of collapse. *Vogue* had one such editor at its helm between 1922 and 1926 who confronted all of the same hurdles faced by the editors of other likeminded counter culture publications. Todd, although now an enigma, was contemporarily acknowledged as being; "full of genius [...] a great editor."[254]

The last aspect I wish to draw upon to outline the initial similarities between *Vogue* and some modernist magazines is that of readership. I have already paid substantial attention to outlining the central principles of Condé Nast's formula for an exclusive magazine and I believe that modernist magazines, because of their alignment to a particular cause, are akin to *Vogue* in aiming for a "limited group"[255] of readers. The successful modernist magazines were those that found "a supportive, independently minded readership."[256] The tactic to locate a specialised and dedicated readership bears resemblance to Nast's principles of proactively excluding certain other categories of readers. Todd's *Vogue* can be seen to have continued to adhere to Nast's readership regulations with regards to its presentation of high fashion. In her inclusion of critical commentaries based on literature and the fine arts and her promotion of innovative, new artists and writers, Todd did not endeavour to attract a different set of readers. Rather, this running of high fashion alongside high-brow culture was intended to educate the existing fashionable woman. This education revolved around the message that being fashionable meant being aware and involved with culture. In this regard, Todd's *Vogue* , like the modernist magazines, can be said to have been "defying mainstream tastes and conventions [aiming] to uphold higher artistic and intellectual standards than their commercial counterparts."[257] It is difficult to separate this

[254] West, Rebecca, cited in Russell Noble, Joan, [ed*.] Recollections of Virginia Woolf* (London: Peter Owen, 1972) p.90
[255] Brooker, Peter & Thacker, Andrew [eds.] *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.12
[256] ibid. p.13
[257] Churchill, Suzanne & McKible, Adam, "Little Magazines and Modernism: An Introduction," American *Periodicals: A Journal of History, Criticism and Bibliography,* Volume 15, Number 1, 2005 p.3

exploration of the readership of a modernist magazine from that aimed for by *Vogue* between 1922 and 1926. If the task of attracting such a readership was successfully instigated, a modernist magazine could enjoy the stability offered by an established — and not necessarily little — circulation, as well as the possibility of commercial advertising.[258] In presenting *Vogue* in this way this chapter will map further the "vast hinterland that remains unexplored"[259] within the critical and cultural history of magazines by revealing the similarities between what is accepted to be the most commercial of the mass market magazines — British *Vogue* —and American modernist magazine — *The Dial* — and a British example which ceased publication in 1921 — *The Athenaeum*.

2.2 "The Idea of a Literary Review" by T.S Eliot

> Very crudely you could say that the period before the First World War in Britain is largely the period of the 'little magazine,' and the period after the First World War is the period of the 'literary review'[260]

I have already sought to express that a modernist magazine is not necessarily a little magazine, and a little magazine is not necessarily limited to presenting any one topic or theme. Malcolm Bradbury's simple distinction outlined above, presents us with yet another particular kind of publication: that of the literary review, which seems to be a term synonymous with that of the modernist magazine. Given that Bradbury identifies the years following the First World War as those experiencing the emergence of such literary reviews, it seems appropriate to explore this

[258] Not all modernist magazines took advantage of commercial advertising, whilst others such as *The Adelphi* in England and *The Little Review* in America embraced the financial contributions such use of advertising could inject. Most of the advertising included in these magazines was relevant to the editorial contents

[259] Brooker, Peter & Thacker, Andrew [eds.] *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.4

[260] Malcolm Bradbury cited in Harding, Jason "The Idea of a Literary Review: T.S. Eliot and The Criterion" in Brooker, Peter & Thacker, Andrew [eds.] *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.346

particular genre through the words of one of its principal instigators. "The Idea of a Literary Review" by T.S Eliot, reveals the ethos behind *The Criterion*. The article can also be used to demonstrate the extent of the similarity between literary reviews / modernist magazines in England and the British *Vogue* of Dorothy Todd.

> A review should be an organ of documentation. That is to say, the bound volumes of a decade should represent the development of the keenest sensibility and the clearest thought of ten years. Even a single number should attempt to illustrate, within its limits, the time and tendencies of the time.[261]

Retrospectively considering the volumes of *Vogue* throughout Todd's editorship — although not amounting to the ten years which Eliot addresses — one can witness the historical documentation which Eliot demands. *Vogue* has been accredited as leaving such a record by Cecil Beaton, who in his memoir, *Photobiography* states: "Even today those quarter of a century old issues of *Vogue* are of extraordinary interest, and not merely as nostalgic period pieces."[262] Indeed, turning to the issues of April 1926 — just one month of many others that detail a similar register — the modern reader encounters articles and regular features written by Richard Aldington, Aldous Huxley, Clive Bell, Marcel Boulestin, Edith Sitwell, T. F. Powys, Bonamy Dubree[263] and Roger Fry as well as sketches by the popular illustrator known as "Fish."[264] Given that these contributors were also appearing in other literary magazines, we can begin to view *Vogue* as existing within part of the larger dialogue of artistic and literary progression. The "bound volumes" of *Vogue* to which

[261] Eliot, T.S, "The Idea of a Literary Review" in *The Criterion*, Volume IV, Number I, January 1926 p.2
[262] Beaton, Cecil, *Photobiography* (London: Odhams Press, 1951) p.34
[263] Bonamy Dubree (2nd February 1891-3rd September 1974) was a Professor of English Literature at the University of Leeds from 1936. Prior to this he was a lecturer of Literature at London University from 1925-1926. During his time in London he became a part of the Bloomsbury Group, meeting T.S. Eliot at Leonard Wool's house in Richmond. Eliot and Dubree became close friends and Eliot commissioned him to write an article about Kipling for *The Criterion*. Dubree was also renowned for his scholarly expertise in area of Restoration and 18th Century Drama.
Sourced from: http://www.open.ac.uk/researchprojects/makingbritain/content/bonamy-dobr%C3%A9e
accessed on April 14th 2013
[264] Ann Harriet "FISH" born in 1890 and during her 15 year career as a Nast illustrator produced thirty covers and countless satiric society illustrations. As well as drawing for *Vogue* and *Vanity Fair,* she also illustrated for *Punch* and made porcelain figurines. She died in 1964.

Beaton pays homage, do indeed exemplify the "tendencies of the time" through the contributions of such figures.

Vogue, under Todd, sought to present seemingly separate entities as an amalgamated set of cultural components. As I show in chapter three, *Vogue* was intent on proving that shifts and changes in culture are not made by one singular element. An article by Raymond Mortimer published in the issue of Early February 1924, demonstrates how culture is composed and affected by a plethora of different forms. Literature interacts with music which interacts with art which influences design which stimulates the design and creation of clothing and so on. Figuratively, *Vogue* becomes a palimpsest of cultural phenomena. Interestingly, it is this multifaceted nature which Eliot comments on. Eliot believed the literary review must be all-encompassing, stating that in order for such a magazine to be successful among those whom its pages are aimed at, it should incorporate what is considered "valuable to the man of general culture:"[265]

> We must take the vague but quite adequate concept of literature as the beautiful expression of a particular sensation and perception, general emotion and impersonal ideas, merely from the centre from which we move; and form a literary review, not merely on literature, but on what we suppose to be the interests of any intelligent person with literary taste.[266]

Again, in including all forms of culture ranging from not only literature, but painting, decoration, design, architecture, music, drama, the theatre, cooking, socialising as well as fashion, *Vogue* extended the potential for contributions beyond one particular focus. Instead, articles of any subject matter were encouraged as long as they appealed to "what [was] supposed to be the

[265] Eliot, T.S, "The Idea of a Literary Review" in *The Criterion*, Volume IV, Number I, January 1926 p.4
[266] ibid.

interests of any intelligent person with literary taste." On the contents page of the Early April 1925 number of *Vogue*, an anonymous voice proclaims in much the same vein as Eliot:

> *Vogue* has no intention of confining its pages to hats and frocks. In literature, the drama, art and architecture, the same spirit of change is seen at work, and to the intelligent observer the interplay of suggestion and influence between all these things is one of the fascinations of the study of the contemporary world.[267]


[268]

Figure 35

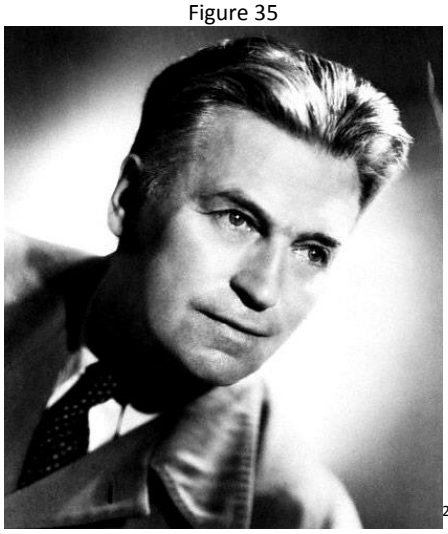

[269]

Figure 36

[267] Anonymous, "Contents Page" *Vogue,* Early April 1926 p.xiv
[268] Images of "FISH" and Dubree. Sourced from: http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/ accessed on 14th April 2013
[269] Image of Richard Aldington.
Sourced from: http://telawrence.blogspot.co.uk/2010/12/lawrence-of-arabia-biographical-enquiry.html accessed on 14th April 2013

As I noted earlier, the anonymous voice acknowledges the "spirit of change" which was inclusive of the whole of culture. It could be argued that Todd manipulated the mechanisations of a fashion paper to achieve her own aims of engaging in the literary and artistic discussions of the decade. It is, however, more correct to say that fashion was indeed as much a part of the cultural sphere at this time as art, music and literature. I wish to turn to a letter from an avid reader of *Vogue* in the 1920s to illustrate the success of including such literary and artistic contents and the effects these new inclusions had upon the devoted fashion follower. Before the main editorial content of the Late May 1926 issue readers were presented with a very rare occurrence for *Vogue* — the headline, "A Letter to the Editor." The voice of *Vogue* — or so we are lead to believe — begins by stating its intentions and justifications for publishing such a letter: "This is a letter which we have received from a reader and which we are publishing because we believe it will be of interest to other *Vogue* readers."[270] It was 1926 and Dorothy Todd had, by this time, received several warnings regarding the "high-brow"[271] direction in which she was self-consciously navigating *Vogue,* from Woolman Chase and Condé Nast. It is tempting to view the publication of this letter and its praise of *Vogue's* eclectic presentation and exploration of new ideas and works of art therefore, as a form of combative response. Given Todd's resolute determination, her steely devotion to the new and visionary, one would expect her not to —for want of a better phrase — go down without a fight. As I hope to show in chapter four, Todd was as experimental and as visionary as the works she printed in her pages.

"My dear editor," begins the grateful and semi-doting voice of Jane Rustington, the author of the correspondence. This letter reveals how Todd's *Vogue* was "valuable to the man of general culture"[272] and thus aligned to Eliot's formula for his own paper, *The Criterion*. Rushington begins by embarking on a loquacious explanation of how the fashion conscious woman should

[270] Rustington, Jane "A Letter to the Editor" *Vogue*, Late May 1926 p.iv
[271] Vita Sackville West in a letter to Harold Nicholson dated September 24th 1926. Cited in Luckhurst, Nicola, *Bloomsbury in Vogue* (London: Bloomsbury Heritage Series by Cecil Woolf, 1998) p.21
[272] Eliot, T.S, "The Idea of a Literary Review" in *The Criterion*, Volume IV, Number I, January 1926 p.4

utilise *Vogue* to optimum effect in order to maintain the highest standards in appearance and to ensure only the latest fashions are purchased. This effusive advice demonstrates that — contrary to Woolman Chase's claim that under Todd, "fashion content was all but eschewed"[273] — the reader of *Vogue* between 1922 and 1926 continued to esteem *Vogue* as the highest authority for fashion in dress. After this initial proclamation of what can only be gleaned as gratitude, Rustington steers her praise towards the "high-brow"[274] aspects of *Vogue* which, prior to 1922, readers had yet to encounter:

> Quite apart from the clothes question, I find *Vogue* simply invaluable in keeping me in touch with current movements. Down here in the country one is inclined to vegetate a little, and it is not always easy to be au fait with contemporary art and literature. However, there are very few issues that do not contain something that will set our brains working and our tongues wagging, whether it is a dinner table decoration or a Surrealist picture, and when I come up to Town; or go over to Paris for a few days (where, by the way, I always make an point of visiting your Paris office), I have no difficulty in choosing the plays and pictures I want to see or the books I want to read. Moreover, I find myself able to discuss "what's on" with a knowledge that no country cousin could hope to achieve without the guidance of *Vogue*. My friends, even those who themselves read *Vogue*, often ask me where I get such clever ideas; that is because though they enjoy *Vogue* they do not explore all its possibilities. Of course, my *Vogue,* when I have finished with it, occasionally looks like a collection of paper ribbon bound together at the back, but it has served its purpose. What more can I ask?"[275]

[273] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (Victor Gollancz, London: 1954) p.131
[274] Vita Sackville West in a letter to Harold Nicholson dated September 24th 1926. Cited in Luckhurst, Nicola, *Bloomsbury in Vogue* (London: Bloomsbury Heritage Series by Cecil Woolf, 1998) p.21
[275] Rustington, Jane "A Letter to the Editor" *Vogue*, Late May 1926 p.iv

This letter demonstrates Todd's success at creating a version of *Vogue* that not only presented, but made the new movement in art and literature both accessible and comprehensible to her readers. The voice of the letter, which is utilised to represent the collective voices of *Vogue* readers, reveals the readers' desire for those elements which combined to make more fashionable the fashionable woman. These elements were "valuable to the [woman] of general culture."[276] Architecture, design, music, drama, arts and literature could be discussed alongside the established female realms of clothing and consumerism. Todd grasped onto the fact that the time when a magazine could dedicate itself to one prominent aspect was over. Readers, especially female ones, were starting to demand the increasing breadth and depth of content that was evident in *Vogue* between 1922 and 1926 and has been labelled by Mahood as being "a skilfully mixed cocktail."[277] Lisa Cohen has recently commented upon Todd's inclusion of culture alongside fashion. She has observed how, "as a recipe for a magazine, these ingredients are now commonplace. At the time it was unprecedented."[278] Returning once again to "The Idea of a Literary Review," Eliot concedes that a paper that deals exclusively with one subject matter, is subject to "death" particularly within the dynamic climate of the 1920s:

> [...] many readers have criticised *The Criterion* for not being literary enough. But I have seen the birth and death of several purely literary publications; and I say of all of them that in isolating the concept of literature they destroy the life of literature.[279]

Although the ideals of Todd and her promotion of modernism may have ended with her dismissal in 1926, *Vogue* continues to be published to the present day, and now — arguably as a result of Todd's aims to incorporate the "high-brow" — publishes articles relating to the same aspects of

[276] Eliot, T.S, "The Idea of a Literary Review" in *The Criterion*, Volume IV, Number I, January 1926 p.4
[277] Mahood, Aurelea, "Fashioning Readers: The Avant-Garde and British *Vogue*, 1920-1929" in *Women: A Cultural Review,* Volume 13, Number 1 (London: Taylor and Francis, 2002) pp.37-47 p.41
[278] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.238
[279] Eliot, T.S, "The Idea of a Literary Review" in *The Criterion*, Volume IV, Number I, January 1926 p.3

culture. These aspects were contemporarily seen as limiting to advertising revenue, magazine sales and circulation.

> We must scrupulously guard ourselves against measuring living art and mind by dead laws or order. Art reflects the transitory as well as the permanent condition of the soul; we cannot wholly measure the present by what the past has been, or by what we think the future ought to be.[280]

The *Vogue* proprietor and his first lady, Edna Woolman Chase, were unable to accept the changes Todd was making to their product. Eliot's concluding sentiment, cited above really captures the essence of their failings. Eliot's article in *The Criterion* reveals that Todd's *Vogue* did share both aims and editorial goals with literary reviews. The preconceptions of *Vogue* as a fashion magazine have to be dismissed in order that these similarities be recognised. It is also necessary to consider Todd's *Vogue* as an attempt to develop the notion and contents of a fashion magazine. This attempt may have been halted before reaching any kind of established momentum, but one cannot argue that Todd's formula has since been adopted as the only way to form a fashion magazine.

2.3 "Make it New!"[281]: Considering American Modernism

It is not surprising that this thesis should begin its real research beyond the context of the history of fashion periodicals given the nature of *Vogue* under Todd. As I wish to present Todd's *Vogue* as part of the dialogue with the modernist magazines and thus a promoter of the modernist movement, it is also important to consider the context in which the cultural changes

[280] Eliot, T.S, "The Idea of a Literary Review" in *The Criterion*, Volume IV, Number I, January 1926 p.5

[281] "[Ezra] Pounds famous exhortation is rightly considered to be one of modernisms mottoes. But as well as demanding novelty he was urging writers to apply new energy to established forms."
Sourced from: www.pbs.org/wnet/amaericannovel
accessed on 7th April 2013

occurred. As I documented in chapter one, Todd completed her *Vogue* training in New York before taking over as editor of the new English edition. During this time in New York Todd, being of a "naturally literary and artistic bent,"[282] would have undoubtedly come into contact with the magazines which were documenting the New Movement in art and letters in America. The magazines she is more than likely to have read would thus have played a part in the renaissance she brought about in British *Vogue* in her years as editor.

Having outlined that Todd was more than likely motivated and influenced by the way magazines were being utilised in New York at this time it is thus initially important to seek to understand the movement many of them were intent on presenting. Fundamentally, American modernism shared the "essential values and dynamics of the [general modernist] culture"[283] chiefly governed and "characterized by new self-consciousness about modernity and by radical formal experimentation." [284] This radical zeal and fervour to experiment with previously established forms especially in art, was stimulated by the "culture against which the early modernists rebelled, Victorianism, whose reign in America ran roughly from the 1830s to the early twentieth century."[285] Changes in what human character had experienced in the world led thinkers to consider Victorian culture to be so repressive and restricting that it had been "stultifying the personality"[286] and the time had come to set it free. As I have explored earlier, the beginnings of modernism can be identified to be present in Europe during the second half of the nineteenth century. It was not however, until the late 1800s as Singal identifies, that modernism came to be a presence in American culture; a presence which exploded most noticeably in the

[282] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue*, (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1954} p.30
[283] Singal, Daniel, Joseph, "Towards a Definition of American Modernism" in *American Quarterly*, Volume 39, Number 1, *Special Issue: Modernist Culture in America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979) pp.2-26
[284] Sourced from: www.pbs.org/wnet/amaericannovel
accessed on 7th April 2013
[285] Singal, Daniel, Joseph, "Towards a Definition of American Modernism" in *American Quarterly*, Volume 39, Number 1, *Special Issue: Modernist Culture in America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979) pp.2-26
[286] ibid.

New York Armory Show of 1913.[287] The Armory Show became known as the "*succés de scandale* which introduced Cubism to the American public."[288] Essentially, American modernism is believed to have been aided in its entrenchment into the American art world by various expatriate writers, acting as "intermediaries between the United States and the European modernists" who sought to "internationalize literature" and who included Ezra Pound, H.D, Gertrude Stein and T. S. Eliot. Singal, in his essay seeks to narrate the emergence of modernism in America and to define its presence. He identifies William James and John Dewey[289] to be central in the "process of importing the new culture [...] and giving it American roots,"[290] American writers, such as Marianne Moore[291], F. Scott Fitzgerald, William Faulkner and Ernest Hemmingway, inspired by what was being brought to them by their international friends, sought to "develop a modernist literature that was connected to American traditions."[292]

This climate of open international co-operation and collaboration is viewed most overtly within the pages of the various magazines I am going to consider. One particular example of this

[287] Officially identified as "The International Exhibition of Modern Art" organised by The American Association of Painters and Sculptors (AAPS) held in the 69th Regiment Armory Building in New York, the exhibition was attacked by the public and the press alike. John Quinn opened the exhibition with the following words: "The members of this association have shown you that American artists –young American artists, that is- do not dread, and have no need to dread, the ideas or the culture of Europe. They believe that in the domain of art only the best should rule. This exhibition will be epoch making in the history of American art. Tonight will be the red-letter night in the history of not only American but of all modern art…..(we) felt it was time the American people had an opportunity to see and judge for themselves concerning the work of the Europeans who are creating a new art." The freedom that the show promoted provided inspiration for the new generation of artists and sculptors.
Sourced from: http://www.askart.com/askart/interest/new_york_armory_show_of_1913s_1.aspx?id=15
accessed on 7th April 2013

[288] Collins, Amy, Fine, *Vintage VF, Vanity Fair: The Early Years, 1914-1936*
Sourced from: http://www.vanityfair.com/magazine/vintage/earlyyears
accessed on 19th May 2010.

[289] Singal states, "Indeed, one might rightfully speak of tw predominant "streams" of American Modernist Culture, proceeding respectively from James and Dewey. The Jamesian stream centres its interest on the individual consciousness, celebrate spontaneity, authenticity, and the probing of new realism of personal experience, and flows manly through the arts and humanities. The Deweyan stream, by contrast, tends to focus on society as a whole, emphasises the elimination of social barriers [...] and tries to wield together reason and emotion in the service of programmatic social aims." Singal, Daniel, Joseph, "Towards a Definition of American Modernism" in *American Quarterly*, Volume 39, Number 1, *Special Issue: Modernist Culture in America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979) pp.2-26 (17-18)

[290] Singal, Daniel, Joseph, "Towards a Definition of American Modernism" in *American Quarterly*, Volume 39, Number 1, *Special Issue: Modernist Culture in America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1979) pp.2-26 (16)

[291] Marianne Moore was a continual contributor and eventual editor of *The Dial* magazine.

[292] Sourced from: www.pbs.org/wnet/amaericannovel
accessed on 7th April 2013.

literary cosmopolitanism was written of contemporarily in a comment in response to a complaint received by *The Dial* for being too dismissive of American artistic talent in June 1923. The comment proclaimed:

> If we have already history behind us, if American letters owe us something, it is simply because we have never published anything or anybody for any reason but the one natural reason: because the work was good. We have published European work not as exotics and not as exemplars; only because we feel that Americans are at work in the same milieu and in the same tradition of letters as the Europeans — that we are all in the Western-civilised-Christian-European-American tradition, and that American letters have their independent existence and their separate, precious character within that circle, just as German and Italian letters have.[293]

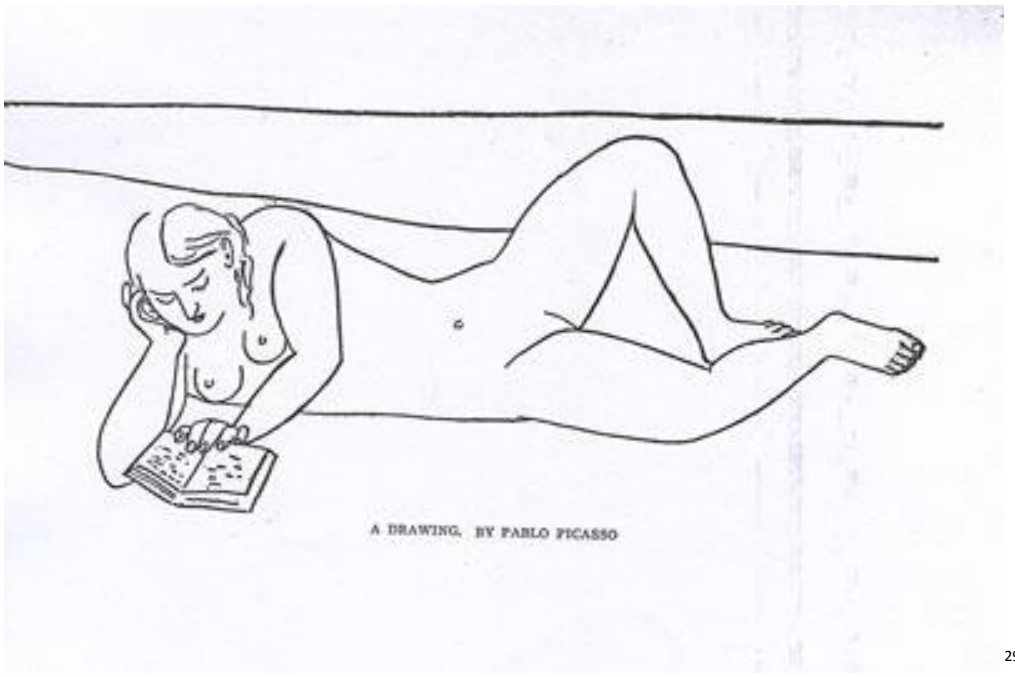
And thus ended the lesson. Nowhere in these journals, periodicals and little magazines of the New Movement is to be found more fervent a promotion of the internationalism of the 1920s. Furthermore, the endorsement of the idea that all were alike in the battle against the confining regulations of the past: "to publish, with pleasure the work of those artists who worked in forms not yet familiar; and as a result we have been held to be defenders not of specific works, but of the idea of [continual] progress."[294] As in England, modernism's central concern was releasing art from the processes that had previously governed its creation and bounded its enjoyment. In recalling its message of motivation to promote progress and originality, I have already drawn attention to *The Dial* and it is thus the first of the magazines which I wish to parallel with Todd's intentions for her modernist version of *Vogue*.

[293] Anonymous, "Comment" *The Dial,* June 1923 p.268-269
[294] Anonymous, "Comment" *The Dial*, July 1922 p.119

2.4 "As Free A Hand As Any Creative Artist Can Have"[295]:

The Dial and *Vogue* as Creative Repositories

> It has been The Dial's habit to find intelligent reviewers and then to let them have as free a hand as any creative artist can have; no one has been instructed to praise or dispraise and delicate hints have generally had results the opposite of what we hoped.[296]



[297]

Figure 37

The Dial magazine is considered to have represented the epitome of the modern spirit in America during the roaring 1920s. In his regular feature, "London Letter" which informed the intercontinental readers of *The Dial* of artistic, literary and cultural events of note occurring in the city, Raymond Mortimer, in March 1922, questioned: "What, I wonder, can be the impressions of a reader of *The Dial* when he firsts visits London?"[298] Mortimer, was also one of *Vogue's* most prominently reoccurring contributors, writing original commentaries as well as collaborating on

[295] Anonymous, "Comment" *The Dial*, June 1923 p.639
[296] ibid.
[297] Pablo Picasso, "A Drawing" *The Dial,* November 1922 p.534
[298] Mortimer, Raymond, "London Letter" *The Dial*, March 1922 p.291

the regular feature "New Books for the Morning Room Table."[299] An awareness of Mortimer's involvement with *Vogue* — and his personal friendship with Todd — adds another dimension to this particular "London Letter". After his initial pondering Mortimer continues:

> In London he wishes to discover what of interest is going on. He asks for an Art paper, and is given *The Studio*. A stone is liker to bread. He asks for the best critical magazine, and is given, rightly, *The Mercury.* Now is it right that the Academic case should be well presented (and other reviews are too crusted to realize that a defence is needed) but we need also a paper to represent the modern movement, a paper with "attack." *The Athenaeum* was distinctly good, but it went. Why not an English edition of *The Dial*?[300]

Mortimer here suggests an English edition of *The Dial* is needed because of the lack of any such paper in England after the downfall of *The Athenaeum.* Throughout this section of the chapter I shall draw on several points which highlight the similarities between *The Dial* and the *Vogue* of Todd. At the centre of all the similarities which I shall come to draw upon is the notion of unconfined and unrestricted artistic license. In the latter part of this chapter — which seeks to place *Vogue* as centrally more important within the dialogue of modernist magazines than has previously been acknowledged — I argue that Todd also sought to revive the spirit of *The Athenaeum* and fill the gap in the market that was left on its demise in 1922. The freedom to create and to critique offered by these two likeminded magazines gave contributors "as free a hand as any creative artist can have,"[301] presenting themselves as repositories of the revolutionary creative minds of the modernist era.

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[299] Mortimer shared the authorship of this regular feature with Edwin Muir, George Rylands and Richard Aldington.
[300] Mortimer, Raymond, "London Letter" *The Dial*, March 1922 p.291-292 In his report of the London social scene, Mortimer questions Diaghileff's success with English theatre goers and comes to the conclusion that clothes were central to the appeal of his productions. This is interesting on consideration that Dorothy Todd utilised a paper that was associated most predominantly with fashion to express the cultural changes being experienced in England.
[301] Anonymous, "Comment" *The Dial*, June 1923 p.639

Like *Vogue, The Dial* did not merely appear suddenly in the 1920s, but had a long heritage in the history of publishing.. The history of *The Dial* —as has also been shown to have been the case with *Vogue*— is central to being able to afford a thorough understanding of its motivations, ideals and principles, and is thus the starting point from which I shall launch this investigation. As is apparent, the journal which was to become known as the chief periodical of the vanguard of the New Movement in America was named after a sundial. This imagery seems more than appropriate given the magazine's willingness to adapt to changing times and to chart progress.

> And so with diligent hands and good intent we set down our *Dial* on the earth. We wish it may resemble that instrument in its celebrated happiness, that of measuring no hours but those of sunshine. Let it be one cheerful rational voice amidst the din of mourners and polemics. Or to abide by our chosen image, let it be such a *Dial*, not as the dead face of a clock, hardly even such as the Gnomon in a garden, but rather such a *Dial* as is the Garden itself, in whose leaves and flowers the suddenly awakened sleeper is instantly apprised not what part of dead time, but what state of life and growth is now arrived and arriving.[302]

Like the sun's journey through the skies, *The Dial* made an eventful transition through its eighty-nine year intermittent history. The ascendant sunrise came for *The Dial* in July 1840, its first phase paying homage to the Transcendentalist Movement[303] and lasting until only April 1844. The loss of

[302] Emerson, Ralph, Waldo, "Introduction" *The Dial*, July 1840 p.5

[303] "Transcendentalism is an American literary, political, and philosophical movement of the early nineteenth century, centred around Ralph Waldo Emerson. Other important transcendentalists were Henry David Thoreau, Margaret Fuller, Amos Bronson Alcott, Frederic Henry Hedge, and Theodore Parker. Stimulated by English and German Romanticism, the Biblical criticism of Herder and Schleiermacher, and the scepticism of Hume, the transcendentalists operated with the sense that a new era was at hand. They were critics of their contemporary society for its unthinking conformity, and urged that each person find, in Emerson's words, "an original relation to the universe". Emerson and Thoreau sought this relation in solitude amidst nature, and in their writing. By the 1840s they, along with other transcendentalists, were engaged in the social experiments of Brook Farm, Fruitlands, and Walden; and, by the 1850s in an increasingly urgent critique of American slavery. [...] The transcendentalists had several publishing outlets: at first *The Christian Examiner*, then, after the furore over the "Divinity School Address," *The Western Messenger* (1835–41) in St Louis, then the *Boston Quarterly Review* (1838–44). *The Dial* (1840–4) was a special case, for it was planned and instituted by the members of the Transcendental Club, with Margaret Fuller (1810–50) as the first editor. Emerson succeeded her for the magazine's

 [304]

Figure 38

the journal which had sought to publish material that was deemed inappropriate by other publications of the day, threw an overcast gloom over its appreciators who mourned "the sad end to the most original and thoughtful periodicals ever published in this country."[305]

After an unsuccessful one year revival in 1860, *The Dial* entered its third phase in 1880 when Francis Fisher Browne re-established it in Chicago. After a lengthy period of success as a Chicago based liberal journal which also published literary criticism and cultural phenomena, the

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last two years. The writing in *The Dial* was uneven, but in its four years of existence it published Fuller's "The Great Lawsuit" (the core of her *Woman in the Nineteenth Century*) and her long review of Goethe's work; prose and poetry by Emerson; Alcott's "Orphic Sayings" (which gave the magazine a reputation for silliness); and the first publications of a young friend of Emerson's, Henry David Thoreau (1817–62). After Emerson became editor in 1842 *The Dial* published a series of "Ethnical Scriptures," translations from Chinese and Indian philosophical works.
Definition taken directly from University of Stanford Encyclopaedia of Philosophy.
Sourced from: http://plato.stanford.edu/entries/transcendentalism/#1 accessed on 11th December 2013

[304] Raymond Mortimer photographed by fellow *Vogue* contributor, Cecil Beaton in 1942.
Sourced from: http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/use-this-image.php?mkey=mw57010
accessed on 17th January 2014

[305] Greeley, Horace, "The Dial" in *The New York Weekly Tribune*, 25th May 1844 p.23

magazine's journey through the skies of publications began to decline steeply on the death of Browne in 1913. In 1916, after struggling to simultaneously maintain editorial control, and financially stability, the Browne family sold the magazine to Martyn Johnson, who promptly moved it from the literary apathetic Chicago to cosmopolitan and inquiring New York. In 1918, *The Dial*, like Todd, was a newcomer on the New York socio-cultural scene. It was at this time in its history that Scofield Thayer, an heir to a New England wool fortune began to invest heavily, under the illusion that his aid in keeping the magazine financially afloat would guarantee him some editorial input — it did not, and the young, inquisitive tycoon walked out.

After a massive amount of ideological conflict caused by the impact of the First World War and a renewed economic strain, Johnson was forced to put *The Dial* on the market. The magnate that had earlier shown such interest in the magazine re-emerged from behind a cloud accompanied by friend and fellow Harvard graduate, Dr. James Sibley Watson Jr. Together they purchased the struggling, but nonetheless brilliant and successful paper. 1919, the year this instrumental purchase was made, marks the high point of *The Dial's* journey. The period of Thayer's ownership and editorship from 1919 onwards is that for which *The Dial* is best known, publishing the most influential and interesting array of writings and artworks from across the Western world. This period in *The Dial's* history is that which I shall be paying attention to in the comparative piece below.

On consideration of *The Dial* of the 1920s, one is confronted with a stringent battle. This is not a battle that is concerned with publishing rivalry — the rivalry that had begun in 1921 between Thayer's *Dial* and *The Little Review* of Anderson and Heap, had grown into a shared artistic interest by 1923 — but rather with a moral conquest against censorship. "We are certain" spoke the voice of "Comment" in the September 1922 issue, "that the Society of the Suppression

of Vice needs suppression."[306] Crucial to *The Dial's* main ethic was the freedom to express unbound and limitless creativity that was not simply experimental but "good." Artists and writers, who believed the sentiment of l'art pour l'art of the 1880s came up against a conservative oppression. In *The New Republic* of 15th December 1920, Walter Lippman wrote of this tyrannical dominance of artistic censorship:

> American artists and American writers are not being suffocated by the perfection of the past, but by the scorn of excellence in the present. [...] We have a Mayor in New York whose contempt for "art artists" has been publically expressed. We have a public opinion that quakes before the word "highbrow" as if it denoted a secret sin.[307]

Lippman also explained how artists and writers of the New Movement were regarded as "dangerous contagion[s] of the human race." It is on this point that I wish to begin my examination of the similarities that bind *The Dial* — as well as proactive modernist magazines in general — and the *Vogue* of Todd in particular. In the mid 1920s, Nast and his leading editor, Woolman Chase, were two of those Americans who were indeed fraught and anxious not only because of the increasing presence of abstract avant-garde forms but also because of the increasingly "highbrow"[308] nature of the English version of the American born *Vogue.* Their product, against their will, was increasingly encouraging the presentation and promotion of the new forms:

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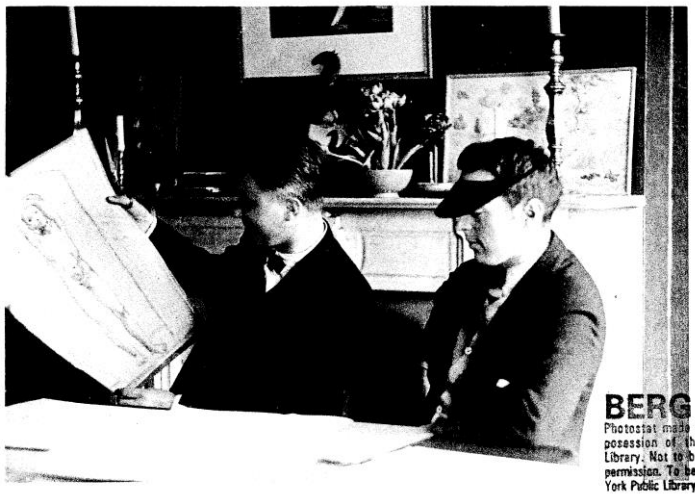
[306] Anonymous, "Comment" *The Dial,* September 1922 p.360. In *The Dial* in April 1920, ran a full page advertisement for *The Little Review* (in support of its cause) it read: "[...] it defends the artist against the Vigilante of Common Sense: it gives him a chance to show his uncensored work with that of his peers ungarbled in editorial rooms." The Vigilante of Common Sense in this case was John S. Sumner (Executive Secretary of the *New York Society for the Suppression of Vice* and who censored Episode XIII of *Ulysses* by James Joyce in *The Little Review*).

[307] Lippman, Walter, "The Crude Barbarian and the Noble Savage" in *The New Republic,* 15th December 1920 p.70

[308] The term "highbrow" is used to describe Todd in multiple sources including Cecil Beaton's *Photobiography* and Woolman Chase describes how "the British edition was not intended to be the advanced literary and artistic review she was turning out." Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollanc,:1954) p.131.



309

Figure 39

> We sat in the meadow [of the Woolf's house in Rodmell] and discussed the future of Miss Todd. As Tray [Raymond Mortimer] has probably told you, she has got the sack from *Vogue*, which, owing to being too highbrow, is sinking in circulation. Todd, a woman of spirit, though remonstrated with by Condé Nast, refused to make any concessions to the reading public. So Nast sacked her. She then took legal advice and was told she could get £5,000 damages on the strength of her contract. Nast, when threatened with an action, reported that he would defend himself by attacking Todd's morals. So poor Todd is silenced, since her morals are of the classic rather than the conventional order [...] This affair has assumed in Bloomsbury the proportions of a political rupture.[310]

The above citation from *Vogue* contributor Vita Sackville-West to her husband, Harold Nicholson, reveals the extent of suppression that Todd herself was facing from the *Vogue* figureheads in New York. Together, Nast and Chase attacked Todd's sexual orientation which they regarded as

[309] Unknown Photographer, "Scofield Thayer in the Dial Offices," *Greenwich Village History*.
Sourced from: http://jonreeve.com/dev/gvh2/items/show/470
accessed on 11th December 2013

[310] Vita Sackville West in a letter to Harold Nicholson dated September 24th 1926 cited in Luckhurst, Nicola, *Bloomsbury in Vogue* (London: Bloomsbury Heritage Series by Cecil Woolf, 1998) p.21

adversely affecting the direction in which she was steering the British edition. This hint of homophobia will be examined more thoroughly in chapter four. At this point in the research it is necessary only to highlight Bloomsbury's apparent awareness of Todd's clever manipulations of Nast's *Vogue* formula through the dual incorporation of fashion and the arts. Bloomsbury were the emerging talents on the literary and artistic scene and were producing the exact work which the conservative Nast and Chase considered as "too highbrow." Bloomsbury's outrage and frustration at Todd's dismissal is therefore understandable. Given that it was apparently Todd's choice to promote their work in *Vogue* that led to her dismissal, the figures of Bloomsbury come to be representatives of the "dangerous contagions" spreading the New Movement in America and modernism in England.

> Solid facts about *Vogue's* revenue and readership are hard to come by, as financial and circulation numbers were secret. [...] Circulation rose, albeit slowly, under [Todd's] stewardship, and a survey of readers found *Vogue* among the top three magazines read by middle class women in 1927.[311]

According to Nast's biographer, Caroline Seebohm, British *Vogue's* circulation figure stood at nine thousand a month when Todd took over from Elspeth Champcommunal in 1922. This figure may have stayed relatively stable until 1924, but a period of growth was experienced and reported to have occurred prior to the General Strike in May 1926.[312] This increase in the amount of copies of British *Vogue* sold per issue increased to a zenith of twenty thousand in 1929.[313] The accumulations of evidence such as this — albeit small and unofficial — combine to discredit Woolman Chase's claim that British *Vogue* because of Todd's literary and artistic editorial

[311] Reed's figure here is taken from: White, Cynthia L. *Women's Magazines 1693-1968* (London: Michael Joseph Ltd, 1970) p.118
[312] Yoxall, Harry, *A Fashion of Life* (New York: Taplinger, 1966) p.124
[313] ibid.

remodelling, was "losing Condé a great deal of money."[314] Woolman Chase also accused Todd of losing valuable advertising which, in her words, "fell off by the pageful."[315] Woolman Chase does not feel the necessity to provide figures or facts here, but my own detailed study of copies of the issues from 1922 until 1926 categorically disputes this claim. Reed too has stated that "the percentage of advertising seemed to remain steady as the size of the magazine increased during Todd's era."[316] Reed adds that further to this continued commitment, advertisers "adopted the jazzy modern graphics and youthful slang of *Vogue's* copy"[317] complementing the editorial subject matter in approving emulation. An advertisement for dominant designer, Lucien Lelong at the opening of the Early October 1926 issue reveals the extent of the interrelationship between editorial and advertising in *Vogue* at this time: "The Reign of Reason in Fashion: Fashion this year has definitely followed other modern arts toward the cool beauty of sheer intellectuality. [...] It is a renaissance of the true haute couture."[318]The advertisement borrows from the vocabulary of Todd's *Vogue* — "renaissance" — and similarly aligns fashion with the "intellectuality" of "other modern arts."

Having acknowledged the discrepancies in facts surrounding Nast's and Chase's accusations, in turn raises the question of what else may have precipitated the rapid dismissal of Todd towards the end of 1926. The "political rupture" the matter of Todd's dismissal caused amongst its members not only represents Bloomsbury's frustration at a modernist mouthpiece being silenced. Sackville-West's term also suggests Bloomsbury's suspicions of Nast and Chase's underlying grievance — circulation figures aside — of a much more complex, almost ominous nature. Recent study has also revealed a further element to this suspicion and aversion to Todd's *Vogue* on the part of Nast and Chase: "The morally rigorous Mrs. Chase also disapproved strongly

[314] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz,1954) p.132
[315] ibid. p.131
[316] Reed, Christopher, "A Vogue That Dare Not Speak Its Name: Sexual Subculture During the Editorship of Dorothy Todd, 1922-1926," in *Fashion Theory: A Journal of Dress, Body and Culture,* Volume 10, Issues 1 & 2 (London: Berg, 2006) p.39-72 (Footnote 21 p.67)
[317] ibid.
[318] Advert for Lucien Lelong, *Vogue*, Early October 1926 unnumbered page

of Miss Todd's personal proclivities, which were overtly homosexual." [319] These "personal proclivities" will be considered in detail in terms of their influence within Todd's *Vogue* in chapter four. It is necessary at this point to acknowledge that Todd and her lover, *Vogue* fashion editor, Madge Garland, worked to create a very particular sort of magazine that drifted severely off course from the expectations of Nast and Chase. In, "A Vogue That Dare Not Speak Its Name: Sexual Subculture During the Editorship of Dorothy Todd, 1922-1926," Christopher Reed has paid attention to Todd's inclusion of both the "heavy hitters of the modernist art canon [and] icons of queer culture"[320] in her pages. This expression of "queer culture" created an ambiguous presentation of sexual subcultures and subtle elements of homoeroticism. "In a decade when men were regularly prosecuted for 'unnatural acts' and British courts prohibited distribution of Radclyffe Hall's novel, *The Well of Loneliness,* for depicting lesbian mores, no mass circulation magazine could have announced homosexuality with [any real] blatancy."[321] However, sensitive, and assiduous readings of Todd's *Vogue* can serve to "register expressions of sexual identity characterized by their obscurity." [322] These references to an emerging sexual subculture, embraced and practiced by *Vogue's* editor, as well as the majority of her contributors, caused Nast and Chase an amount of discomposure. I wish to argue that the accusations of poor circulation, loss of revenue and advertising were really only excuses which masked the real underlying reticent whisper of homophobia.

Todd's determination to present the new and revolutionary as opposed to the docile conservatism of the *Vogue* tradition is made explicitly clear when one considers her steadfast

[319] Seebohm, Caroline, The *Man Who Was Vogue: The Life and Times of Conde Nast* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson Limited, 1982) p.125
[320] Reed, Christopher, "A Vogue That Dare Not Speak Its Name: Sexual Subculture During the Editorship of Dorothy Todd, 1922-1926," in *Fashion Theory: A Journal of Dress, Body and Culture,* Volume 10, Issues 1 & 2 (London: Berg, 2006) p.39-72 p.50
[321] ibid.p.44
[322] ibid. p.45 referencing Cohen, Lisa, "Velvet is Very Important: Madge Garland and the Work of Fashion," *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies,* Volume 11, Number 3 (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2005) p.271-390

"refusal to make any concessions to the reading public"[323] and how this commitment was placed higher in importance even than her own career. Todd had to be threatened with the exposure of her "private sin" in order to accept the parsimonious dismissal conditions offered, begrudgingly by Nast. Despite several warnings and a visit from Woolman Chase in 1923, Todd did not waver in her intentions to expose the readers of *Vogue* to the emergent creations of modernism. This same dedication to a particular cause is also a feature of *The Dial* of Scofield Thayer, the contributors opposing themselves against the "supposedly conservative men," a label that really meant that they were "incapable of ideas."[324]

As has may have become clear through continued reference thus far, *The Dial*, most poignantly defended its belief in the new and revolutionary developments in the arts through the "Comments" feature which ran toward the back of each issue. Through this comparatively short, frequently anonymous piece — presented as if it were the magazine itself that was speaking — the motivations and objectives of the magazine and its editorial staff were stated. These "Comment" sections often existed in the form of a teacher posing a typical essay question, encouraging the writer and often seemingly demanding them to "discuss." They were also written ostensibly with the purpose of justifying and defending the publication of certain works in the preceding pages and in the preceding issues. Perhaps the most prolifically fervent of these "Comments" is that of June 1923, which was written in response to an editorial in *The Little Review* which had "flattered [the editorial team of *The Dial*] to the point of bedazzlement and then struck home. Magazines travel more slowly than ideas, so we will reprint the blow [...]."[325] After printing a section of the aforementioned editorial from *The Little Review: "*Here — by implication or sometimes directly — here is the way to write; these are the subjects, these are the methods of modern European literature; go you and do likewise and we shall have an

[323] Vita Sackville West in a letter to Harold Nicholson dated September 24th 1926 cited in Luckhurst, Nicola, *Bloomsbury in Vogue* (London: Bloomsbury Heritage Series by Cecil Woolf, 1998) p.21
[324] McBride, Henry, "Modern Art" *The Dial*, May 1923 p.530
[325] Anonymous, "Comment" *The Dial*, June 1923 p.639

American literature!"[326] The voice of the "Commentator" demands a "revision of the statement quoted above" before continuing dexterously to refute the claim, insisting that a work's publication in *The Dial* meant that it was good enough to appear in the magazine's pages, and not that it was providing an example of how writers in America should write. *The Dial* reveals the extent of its dedication to the cosmopolitanism of the New Movement, the necessary need to publish and promote voices from across the Western world and beyond and its intention to unite under the shared focus of promoting visionary ways to express oneself. The "Commentator" then proceeds to examine the tradition of "American Letters" and their perceptions across the globe before ardently declaring:

> If the work of European artists continues to be nobler in conception and more honest in execution than the work of Americans, we shall undoubtedly print the former in preference to the latter. But we ask *The Literary Review* to continue to watch what happens. It is barely possible that our greatest service to American letters will turn out to be our refusal to praise or to publish silly and slovenly and nearly-good-enough work. The Americans we publish have at least the certainty that we publish them not because they are Americans, but because they are artists.[327]

These "Comment" sections were even expanded so far as to examine the nature of the publication as a form of creative repository. The example from February 1923 cited below, reveals *The Dial's* awareness of commerciality and commodification:

> *The Dial* itself is, to use a commercial term, engaged in the business of making public some of the products of the creative imagination, and we feel specifically that the

[326] Anonymous, "Comment" *The Dial*, June 1923 p.639
[327] ibid.

> publicity which brings the work of art rather than the personality of the artist to the attention of those who can appreciate it as wholly justifiable.[328]

The Commentator suggests that when published in a magazine, the creative work not only becomes available to interpretations outside that of the creator, but available as a product: it can be consumed in more than one way by the reader. Further to this, the creator himself is capable of being consumed. Printing, primarily is a form of promotion and an attempt to sell. Both *The Dial*, and *Vogue* were using page space to promote the "work of those artists who worked in forms not yet familiar,"[329] in order that their ideas might be "sold" — accepted and understood — by an ever increasing number of people. As a result of this steadfast commitment to showcasing these creative inventors, both magazines can be: "held to be defenders not of the specific works, but of the idea of new forms."[330] With this dedication to excellence in mind, it becomes obligatory to regard *The Dial* as a showcase of excellence for contemporary creative works. The submissions from an abundance of different artists and writers stand individually but interdependently — the contributions are used, as are unrelated pieces of stone and glass to compose a total picture, a mosaic[331] — to form a work of art. *The Dial's* search for "aesthetic perfection" did not mean however, that the magazine followed any particular controlling ideology, meaning that beneficially, *The Dial* had "no axe to grind."[332] What characterizes *The Dial,* and indeed Todd's *Vogue,* was an overwhelming freedom of creative licence. This freedom liberated the contributors themselves from the constraints of having to adhere to any rigid ideology in their writings. It is interesting therefore, that in the case of both magazines, it would appear that dedicating oneself to the freedom to "write what one likes" created a reading experience where "each

[328] Anonymous, "Comment" *The Dial*, February 1923 p.213
[329] Anonymous, "Comment" *The Dial*, July 1922 p.119
[330] ibid.
[331] The representation of *The Dial* as a mosaic is from:
Joost, Nicholas, *Years of Transition: The Dial, 1912-1920* (Massachusetts: Barre, 1967) p.277
[332] ibid. p.264

[independent] contribution appeared all the better for also being part of an integrated ensemble.[333]

The commitment to aesthetic perfection upheld by the editors who were notorious for being "aesthetic or nothing"[334] often meant that they acted contrary to popular principles of publication and promotion:

> No one can be more aware than ourselves of the "untouched reservoirs" of indifference and hostility to any manifestation of the artistic spirit in America. We know that if a work of genius is neither a scandal nor a stunt, if it happens not to be the very largest statue ever made and if the sculptor has not last week (but not much longer than last week) murdered his wife, the American people will simply not have heard of it.[335]

The Dial, as has been made clear thus far, was distinctly against the printing of a creative work for purely sensational means, despite the adverse consequences this disregard for public demand would potentially have upon their circulation figures. *The Dial* made no compromise with the expectations of the reading public in America. It disregarded its need for the famous, the scandalous and the shocking in favour of presenting only what was deemed as "good." There, is, however — as identified by Joost — a conflicting element to this commitment:

> Both relationships within the intellectual and artistic vanguard itself and of the vanguard with the public at large were made more difficult by their characterizing, conflicting traits. The millions of consumers seem to have asked for nothing else than their accustomed

[333] Joost, Nicholas, *Years of Transition: The Dial, 1912-1920* (Massachusetts: Barre, 1967) p.277
[334] Brooks, Van Wyck, *Day's of the Phoenix,* 1957.
Sourced from: Joost, Nicholas, *Years of Transition: The Dial, 1912-1920* (Massachusetts: Barre, 1967) p.11
[335] Anonymous, "Comment" *The Dial*, January 1922 p.116

> diet [...] To them the effort of the poet or novelist or artist representing the "new" was an affront, a cheap attempt to shock merely to titillate [...].[336]

As earlier noted by Joost, and cited above, the "accustomed diet" of the American populace was that of a magazine which published material of a scandalous nature intended to shock. Although *The Dial* did not intend deliberately to toy with this particular method of successful, profitable publishing, the printing of the new and visionary did incorporate elements of the shocking into the magazine dedicated to artistic excellence:

> The radical changes in taste and attitude instigated by the artists and writers and editors of the vanguard comprehended more than the "new" freedom of expression in the printed word: their notion of freedom was not restricted to the abandoning of Victorian prudery. The shock value of the work of those who participated in the New Movement was the greater and more enduring because the work incorporated, to be sure, changed attitudes towards sex and expressed them with a new frankness and realism but the shock value was the greater, it endured, because that work also expressed what was uttered in novel and shocking aesthetic forms."[337]

This artistic dilemma was also commented upon in *Vogue,* when in February 1925, Raymond Mortimer warned: "When nothing shocks, there is a danger that soon nothing will interest."[338] With Mortimer's words in mind it becomes possible to see how *The Dial* helped cement the New Movement into the American cultural milieu. The material printed in *The Dial*, was new and visionary, and as a result shocking in its total disassociation from what had preceded it. However,

[336] Joost, Nicholas, *Years of Transition: The Dial, 1912-1920* (Massachusetts: Barre, 1967) p.245
[337] ibid. p.251
[338] Mortimer, Raymond, "New Books for the Morning Room Table" *Vogue*, Late February 1925 p.41

"the Dial was more than a seismograph of the American earthquake mechanically and passively recording what went on."[339] *The Dial* discussed passionately, pondered out loud and questioned convention. In doing this, the magazine encouraged its readers to involve themselves in its editorials, instilling its own sense of inquisitiveness about cultural changes in their own intelligent psyches. The result of this was a reading public that was not only aware, but accepting of the New Movement by the time of *The Dial's* demise in 1929. Part of the very success of *The Dial*, was rooted in its ability to present the visionary works of the modernists without seeming to bow to American demands for the sensational or the gimmick. This success was also founded on the magazine's acknowledgement of the literary and artistic cultural past.

"Mr. Eliot[340] says that the important critic is absorbed in the present problems of art and wishes to bring the forces of the past to bear upon the solution of these problems. Perhaps that is the kind of importance we are looking for,"[341] advises Sebastien Cauliflower in *The Dial's* "American Letter" of November 1922. This sentiment is not confined to this one particular commentary, but extends and resonates throughout the issues of *The Dial* until its abrupt end in 1929. Articles continuously appeared which took past works of art and writing as their subject matter seemingly to demonstrate both their effect upon contemporary works and / or to exhibit the development and improvements made by more recent and emerging creators. This refusal to ignore the past as intrinsic to the development of modern works, is also a dominant feature in the *Vogue* of Todd. This reference to the history of the arts is yet another characteristic which acts to bind both magazines together in terms of their ideals.

[339] Joost, Nicholas*, Scofield Thayer & The Dial: An Illustrated History* (Michigan: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964) p.22
[340] T.S. Eliot was London Correspondent (alongside Raymond Mortimer) for *The Dial* from March 1921 onwards.
[341] Cauliflower, Sebastien, "American Letter" *The Dial*, November 1922 p.558. Note that T.S. Eliot's "The Waste Land" is published at the beginning of this issue.

"The modernists were obsessed with history. They mourned it and damned it."[342] If any evidence was necessary to prove this claim to be correct, it could most certainly be found in *The Dial,* and most acutely in a lengthy twenty four page article by Stefan Zweig titled "Charles Dickens." The article centres on the "imperishability" [sic] of Dickens' work due to its relation and semblance to traditional notions of Englishness. Zweig explains, "in England the contents of a novel are expected to serve simply as an illustration of prevalent moral maxims."[343] Zweig's article not only invoked the spirit of literatures past but also praised the work of a specific, timeless "genius" in a period of intense literary and artistic commotion:

> Charles Dickens still remains the most beloved, the most commanding and feted story-teller of the entire English world. When a literary product has such an enormously powerful effect, extending equally in breadth and profundity, this can have resulted solely from the union of two forces customarily in conflict — from the identification of a man of genius with the tradition of his time [...]. Dickens is the only great writer of the century whose deepest spiritual needs of his time. His novels are absolutely identical with the England of the corresponding period; his work is the materialization of English traditions.[344]

The point of this extended article not only stands to praise Dickens as is customary, but to question the way in which critics and the reading public generally understand the literature of the past. This past is continuously placed in stark comparison to the cultural and creative occurrences of the early twentieth century, presented by Zweig as industrial and tumultuous:

[342] Rainey*, Lawrence, Revisiting "The Waste Land"* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2007) p.71
[343] Zweig, Stefan, "Charles Dickens" *The Dial,* January 1923 p.19
[344] ibid.

> Charles Dickens has turned into poetry a period of the world in repose. Today life has become high-pitched again; machines are groaning; the times are speeded up. But the idyll is immortal, because it is the joy of living; it returns like the blue sky after a storm, the merriment which will always follow after a great spiritual crisis and cataclysms. Thus, Dickens will regain prominence every time that people hunger after jollity and, wearied by the tragic strenuousness of passion, want to hear for a while what delicate music and poetry can be extracted from the simple things of life.[345]

The articles which are centred around historical figures, art works from times past, and books that are still read, reveal at their core the modernist awareness of the need for reconsideration, the need to appreciate how artworks, as products of the human spirit, exist as eternal rather than transient. Drawing upon works and their creators from the past provides the New Movement with a justifiable credibility, as well as revealing the impetus, origins and the developments of twentieth century ways of thinking. *The Dial's* very structure is revealing with regards to its dualistic presentation of the old and the new. The piece on Charles Dickens by Zweig opens both the issue and the mind of the individual to a re-reading of history. *The Dial* does not stop at one article that glamorises literature's past, but continues, placing a verse by W.B. Yeats — "Meditations in Time of Cavil War" which is concerned primarily with ancestry — after several pages of contemporary drawings by E.E. Cummings. The page space following on from Yeats' biographical reverie traces the newest occurrences from around the world, before Walter Agard writes "A Reconsideration of Greek Art." These articles serve to act as markers, segmenting the issue into three, leaving the last third to explore — "Moving Pictures" by Vivien Shaw — critique — "First Inversion" by Gilbert Seldes and "Briefer Mention" and instruct — "Realism and Idealism" by Kenneth Burke.

[345] Zweig, Stefan, "Charles Dickens" *The Dial,* January 1923 p.24

The importance of the past is also acknowledged in Todd's *Vogue*. In chapter five, I will come to pay an amount of attention to the articles of the pseudonymous Polly Flinders. One of her articles in particular — "A Plea for a Renaissance"[346] — adheres to not only the acknowledgment of the importance of heritage to creative works, but also the need to use past legacies as foundations for modernization and development. Briefly, Flinders suggests in this article that works of the past should neither be feared, nor ignored as the enemies to progression, but rather viewed as inspirations for future development. This concept was not only the opinion of the author, but part of a wider editorial conviction. This element, connected to the necessity of a magazine to be aware of context, particularly suited *Vogue* and its reputation for being the fashion world's most omniscient cognoscenti. The dual existence of past and present can be seen in any issue of Todd's magazine, but for comparisons sake, I have chosen to take the two issues of the month of April — where this article by Flinders appeared — as examples. In the Early April 1925 edition, a feature entitled "A Bachelor Flat in Bloomsbury: An Essay in Contemporary Decoration"[347] presents the ability of the architecture of the Georgians to coincide with the interior decoration of the modernists.

The houses of Bloomsbury, London Borough of Camden, may well have been commonly associated with the Georgian period, but *Vogue*, in this particular article demonstrates the potential for "Unity in Diversity"[348] in a house decorated internally in the most modish of styles. The architecture of the Regency epoch, coexists almost naturally in this piece which highlights the dominance of fabric, the geometric and the oriental which would come to be defining features of artistic modernism. Todd can here be seen to be adapting the pre-existing *Vogue* formula to the fullest extent: illustrated invasions into the private homes of aristocrats and socialites were no new feature of the 1920s. *Vogue* had always possessed the privilege of gaining access to the

[346] Flinders, Polly, "A Plea for a Renaissance" *Vogue*, Late April 1925 p.65
[347] Anonymous, "A Bachelor Flat in Bloomsbury: An Essay in Contemporary Decoration" *Vogue,* Late April 1925 p.44
[348] Anonymous, "Unity and Diversity: The House of Mr. Osbert and Mr. Sacherverall Sitwell" *Vogue*, Late October 1924 p.53

 [349]

Figure 40

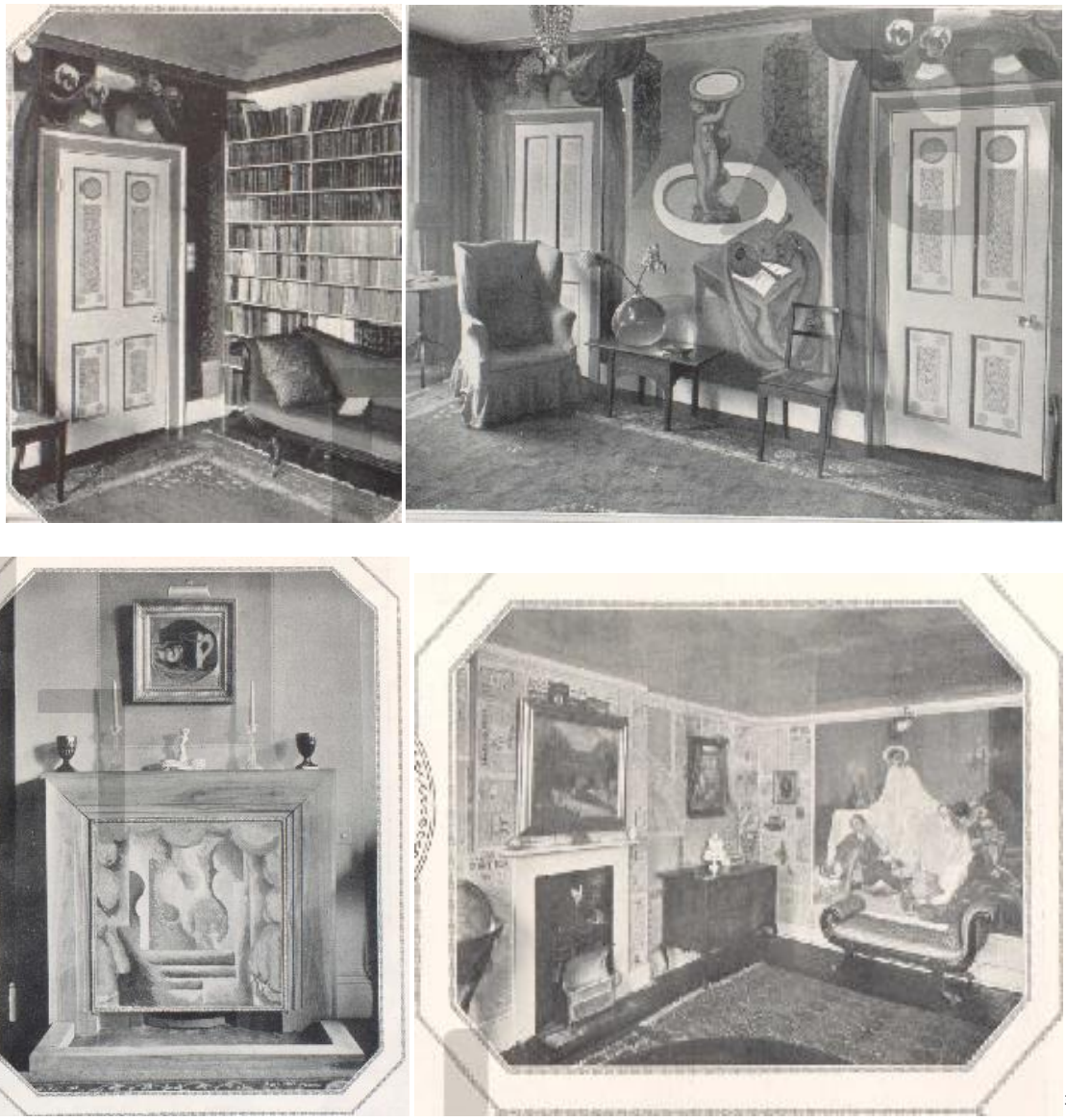
exclusive homes its readers were envious to view. Instead of aiming for the actress of the moment, the wealthiest bachelor in town, or the country house of the most well bred family, which *Vogue* formulas had previously dictated as the most desired subjects, Todd chose instead to showcase the homes of the her own intelligent contributors, revealing what Lachmansingh has considered to be Todd's attempt to make celebrities out of her writers and artists.[350]

I however, consider this promotion to be more of an outward demonstration of how readers themselves may mingle the old and the new. "There are two ways of furnishing a house, the grimly historical and the purely whimsical," begins the anonymous voice of "Unity and Diversity." The article continues along much the same line as "A Bachelor Flat in Bloomsbury," revealing the ability of the new and innovative in decoration to "play" with the historical. Reed

[349] Travistock Square, Bloomsbury, image taken 29th August 2011. Source: author's own

[350] Lachmansingh, Sandhya, Kimberly, (2010) *"Fashions of the Mind:" Modernism and British Vogue under the Editorship of Dorothy Todd,* M.A, University of Birmingham, In this dissertation, Lachmansingh argues that Todd's *Vogue* "exposed its readers to literary celebrities." She states that the "contributors and subjects of *Vogue* became, for its readers, modernist celebrities" through Todd's transformations in presenting "the current and the new in the mode, to the current and the new in poetry and prose." (8) Lachmansingh, draws upon Christopher Reed (2006) and Aaron Jaffe (2005) to validate her argument, which centrally draws upon the "importance of self-promotion to modernist writers [which enables] us to see the self-constructed nature of the modernist persona." (29) The matter of a self-conscious performativity is not something I find completely present in the case of the writer of Todd's *Vogue*, nor the deliberate/conscious decision of Todd to make celebrities of her contributors.

acknowledges that the home of Osbert and Sacherverall Sitwell reveals "modernist investment in heroic architectural rhetoric, both visual and verbal,"[351] but such a sentiment is also applicable to the overall messages that *Vogue* was seeking to promote: "the most un-coordinating of worlds [and] unexpected juxtapositions" could, if attempted, amicably co-exist with not only pleasing, but beneficial results. Such is the case with , as is also with the often considered worlds of fashion and art and literature. Fashions in the architecture of housing and the changing interior styles in



[352]

Figure 41

[351] Reed, Christopher, "Design for (Queer) Living: Sexual Identity, Performance, and Decor in British *Vogue*, 1922-1926" in *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies* Volume 12 Number 3 (North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2006) p.377-403

[352] Anonymous, "A Bachelor Flat in Bloomsbury: An Essay in Contemporary Decoration" *Vogue,* Late April 1925 p.44

decoration within these house are accompanied in the issues of *Vogue* by both the "fashions of the mind"[353] and the fashions of the body.[354] In the Early April number, Francis Birrell writes on "Classics — Old and New"[355] and Richard Aldington of "T.S Eliot: Poet and Critic."[356] These articles intended to both stir curiosity and raise awareness in the minds of *Vogue* readers, appear alongside fashion featurettes such as "The Ensemble Enters the Boudoir in Paris"[357] and "Tailleurs Prove the Importance of Inverted Pleats."[358] The identical method of presenting the old and new and high-culture and fashion is mirrored in the issue of the following month as the above examined "A Bachelor Flat in Bloomsbury"[359] shares page space with editorials dealing with trends such as "Vionnet Makes a Point of Geometric Design"[360] and "Fringe Causes a Flutter on Capes and Frocks."[361] Alongside these editorial pieces is also the anonymous "She Was Our South Africa , Africa All Over,"[362] which draws upon Rudyard Kipling's 1903 verse for its title. This dual presentation — to be explored in greater detail in chapter three — effectively unites the apparently disconnected and juxtaposing world of intelligent curiosity and knowledge and the accused frivolity of fashioning the body.

To resume my analysis of Thayer's magazine, I wish to turn to the citation from Joost. He states:

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[353] I draw here on Mortimer, Raymond, "The Fashions of the Mind" *Vogue*, Early February 1924 p.49 in relation to my examination of this article in chapter three of this thesis.

[354] Also interesting here is the presentation of women writers in historic/period dress. Both Virginia Woolf and Polly Flinders (Mary Hutchinson) were photographed for *Vogue* wearing clothes of the Victorian era. This places them apart from the images of models clothed in the newest and most modish of fashions.

[355] Birrell, Francis, "Classics — Old and New" *Vogue*, Early April 1925 p.75

[356] Aldington, Richard, "T.S Eliot: Poet and Critic" *Vogue*, Early April 1925 p.71. In this piece, which praises Eliot using *Vogue* appropriate parameters: "If he chose to play the game of Fashion he might easily aspire to the intellectual dictatorship of Mayfair", Aldington emphasises the influence of history upon new writers. He states: "Again, here is a modern among moderns who is not scared of the past, who gladly acknowledges his immense debts to Aristotle and Dante; a man of culture who is intensely preoccupied with the problems of modern art. His thought is destructive because it attempts to annihilate Romanticism — aesthetic, moral and political ; but it is constructive because it attempts to put something better in the place of Romanticism."

[357] Anonymous, "The Ensemble Enters the Boudoir in Paris" *Vogue*, Early April 1925 p.81

[358] Anonymous, "Tailleurs Prove the Importance of Inverted Pleats" *Vogue*, Early April 1925 p.86

[359] Anonymous, "A Bachelor Flat in Bloomsbury: An Essay in Contemporary Decoration" *Vogue,* Late April 1925 p.44

[360] Anonymous, "Vionnet Makes a Point of Geometric Design" *Vogue*, Late April 1925 p.54

[361] Anonymous, "Fringe Causes a Flutter on Capes and Frocks" *Vogue*, Late April 1925 p.55

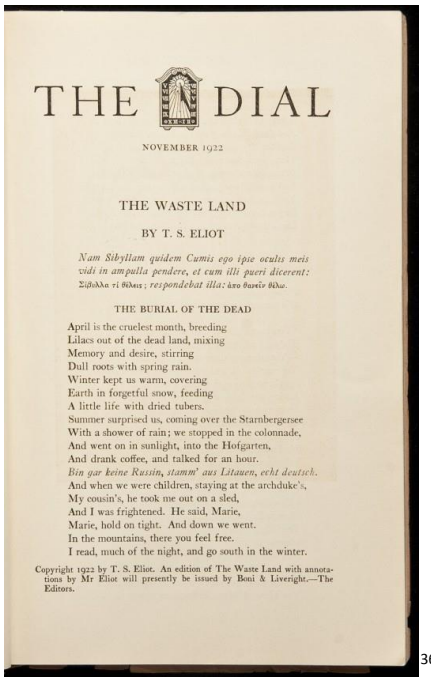
[362] Anonymous, "She Was Our South Africa , Africa All Over" *Vogue,* Late April 1925 p.76

> *The Dial* did not aim to educate, but its editors honestly believed, so they asserted, that the publication of fine creative and critical work was an enterprise in civilisation that would do something to stir America from the apathy of the imagination that had fallen upon it. This task was to be performed by transforming *The Dial* from a fortnightly magazine of radical tendencies — so reads the verbiage of the circular — into a literary magazine without precedent in America. America, at the close of 1919, possessed no magazine that, in *The Dial's* point of view, was trying to set free the imagination of American authors and artists and that was willing to publish the best works available in both the accepted and the unconventional forms of expression without prejudice to either. There was thus no magazine that put the best of both the new and the old produced in America side by side with the best of both the new and the old produced abroad.[363]

It will be noted that in the citation above, I have chosen to emphasise the word "civilisation." This particular word compels me to turn to the words of A.D. Moody, which have become central in defining the foundations and motivations for Todd's *Vogue*. This citation emphasises Dorothy Todd's motivations to promote "civilisation in the mind"[364] of *Vogue* readers as well as civilisation of the body. In the case of *The Dial*, this process of "civilisation" of the minds of the wider readership stems from the need to promote new creative works because "they [are] good" rather than because of their value as mere scandal. *The Dial*, in a similar vein to Todd's *Vogue* wanted, not to educate readers in these new innovations in art and letters, but to make them more likely to approach them with an imaginative, open minded curiosity. Like *Vogue, The Dial* scattered it's pages with both the critical and the creative, there was no vigorous agenda but instead only the unceasing passion of presenting the new. This devotion on the part of the editors — both Thayer

[363] Joost, Nicholas*, Scofield Thayer & The Dial: An Illustrated History* (Michigan: Southern Illinois University Press, 1964) p.24
[364] A.D. Moody cited in Bell, Quentin, *Bloomsbury* [1986] (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968) p.11

and Todd — fostered in their magazines the similar identities of aesthetic promoters of intelligent eclecticism[365] and for which both magazines, never before considered alongside each other, have since become renowned. The magazines which Todd undoubtedly would have encountered during her lengthy stay in New York, must have revealed to her the necessity for an "English edition of *The Dial*"[366] and inspired her to fill the pages she would soon be presiding over with an unswerving promotion of culture and thus a more intelligent approach to fashion. To do this she employed the services of a talented and eclectic clientele — many of whom had already been guests of Thayer's inquisitive proprietorship.[367] The need for this "English version of *The Dial*"[368] was made even greater by the demise of another such eclectic literary magazine: *The Athenaeum.*



THE DIAL

NOVEMBER 1922

THE WASTE LAND

BY T. S. ELIOT

Nam Sibyllam quidem Cumis ego ipse oculis meis
vidi in ampulla pendere, et cum illi pueri dicerent:
Σίβυλλα τί θέλεις; *respondebat illa:* ἀποθανεῖν θέλω.

THE BURIAL OF THE DEAD

April is the cruelest month, breeding
Lilacs out of the dead land, mixing
Memory and desire, stirring
Dull roots with spring rain.
Winter kept us warm, covering
Earth in forgetful snow, feeding
A little life with dried tubers.
Summer surprised us, coming over the Starnbergersee
With a shower of rain; we stopped in the colonnade,
And went on in sunlight, into the Hofgarten,
And drank coffee, and talked for an hour.
Bin gar keine Russin, stamm' aus Litauen, echt deutsch.
And when we were children, staying at the archduke's,
My cousin's, he took me out on a sled,
And I was frightened. He said, Marie,
Marie, hold on tight. And down we went.
In the mountains, there you feel free.
I read, much of the night, and go south in the winter.

Copyright 1922 by T. S. Eliot. An edition of The Waste Land with annotations by Mr Eliot will presently be issued by Boni & Liveright.—The Editors.

[369]

Figure 42

[365] In 1965, Cyril Connolly identified two types of editors involved with the publication of literary magazines, the "Dynamic", and the dualistic "Eclectic." For the first category of editors, the space offered by the magazine became a paper battlefield: "a commando course, where picked men are trained to assault the enemy position." The eclectic editor however, was like a "hotel proprietor whose rooms fill up every month with a different clientele." Importantly, Connolly makes sure to emphasise that eclecticism "did not mean an absence of discrimination."
Sourced from: Connolly, Cyril, *The Modern Movement: 100 Key Books From England, France, and America, 1880–1950* (London: Athenaeum, 1966) and Collini, Stefan, *Common Reading: Critics, Historians, Publics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008)

[366] Mortimer, Raymond, "London Letter" *The Dial,* March 1922 p.291-292

[367] Terminology and metaphors used in conjunction with those of:
Connolly, Cyril, *The Modern Movement: 100 Key Books From England, France, and America, 1880–1950* (London: Athenaeum, 1966)

[368] Mortimer, Raymond, "London Letter" *The Dial,* March 1922 p.292

[369] Image depicting the opening of *The Dial* of November 1922.
Sourced from: http://modernist-magazines.org/?q=taxonomy/term/863
accessed on 12th December 2013

2.5 The Gap in the Market left by *The Athenaeum*

Of the two hundred and fifty little magazines recorded to have been in print in Britain and America[370] during this era, none identified the gap in the market which Dorothy Todd discovered in 1922. Neither had any of these little magazines combined the different strands of modernist thought in the way that *Vogue* did. Further, none of the one hundred and thirty solely British magazines of this kind identified the connection between the high-brow modernism they were so persistent in presenting and the more incessant, omnipresent aspects of everyday life and culture. The role of broader aspects of culture as part of the movement of modernism has since been slightly overlooked. Of all the English examples of modernist magazines, there is one in particular that can be regarded as particularly similar to Todd's *Vogue*. The parallels — which I will identify and discuss throughout this section — between *The Athenaeum* and *Vogue*, particularly in terms of principles and contributors, are so prominent that I wish to present the idea that Todd perhaps modelled her *Vogue* upon the already established — and successful —model of *The Athenaeum.* When *The Athenaeum* ceased independent publication in 1921, Todd was left with the perfect circumstances for making her *Dial i*nspired vision a success. In 1922, Todd's *Vogue* was free from competition as it delivered to both its established and new found readers what no other magazine could offer.

> What the ordinary newspaper is to the ordinary man, *The Athenaeum* is to the man who thinks, or desires to learn.[371] It is an indispensible instrument of that process of liberal

[370] Figures relating to circulation sourced from: Tye, J. R. *Periodicals of the Nineties: A Checklist of Literary Periodicals Published in the British Isles at Longer than Fortnightly Intervals, 1890-1899* and Faxon, F. W. "Ephemeral Bibelots", *Bulletin of Bibliography 3 (1903-1904)* as used in, Peter & Thacker, Andrew [eds.] *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.69

[371] The emphasis on enticing the intellectually inquisitive mind was also shown through specialized advertising. Each issue opened with an "Appointments Vacant" section which always broadcasted vacancies within the spheres of learning and research. The issue of July 2nd 1920 for example presented the "Post of Librarian at the Liverpool Library" to potential candidates, as well as the need for a new Lecturer of History at Huddersfield Technical College. A further amount of advertising appears under sub-categories "Author's Agents" and "Typewriting" which also to pertain to those of a creative intellectual enquiry.

> education which should end only with man's or woman's life. It stimulates thought upon every topic, which it touches, with the same singleness of purpose, to discover and reveal the truth. It is the declared enemy of every form of intellectual cant and humbug, however eminent and established.[372]

The Athenaeum — "a journal of English and Foreign Literature, Science, The Fine Arts, Music and The Drama" — was founded in 1828. Until it was acquired in 1917 by the Joseph Rowntree Social Service Trust owing to financial difficulties, its history was relatively devoid of tumult. It is not until John Middleton Murry[373] became editor in 1919 that *The Athenaeum* becomes noteworthy as a point of comparison to Todd's *Vogue* and indeed to the broader study of modernist magazines. As the above manifesto reveals, *The Athenaeum,* under Murry and his assistant editor, Aldous Huxley,[374] prided itself on being an instrument of instruction to its readers —markedly emphasised as being both male *and* female. *The Athenaeum* aimed to teach their readers of the new and innovative processes at work in creating works of art. The readers themselves, must have appreciated this pedagogical didacticism, as between three and four thousand copies were sold weekly.

The Athenaeum made modernism an approachable and non-restrictive subject matter, following a consistent and accessible layout. Issues opened with an editorial essay, which often broached the main themes of the issue. This extended article was regimentally followed by a

[372] Advertisement, *TES*, 11 December 1919, cited in "Enemies of Cant: The Athenaeum and The Adelphi" by Michael H. Whitworth in Brooker, Peter & Thacker, Andrew [eds.] *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.368-369

[373] John Middleton Murry was born in Peckham, London on 6th August 1889. During his lifetime he had a continual involvement with magazines starting in 1911 when he became editor of *Rhythm* (later *The Blue Review*). After its closure in 1913, Murry went on to found *The Signature* with D.H. Lawrence in 1914. In 1919 he became editor of *The Athenaeum* and in 1923 he became editor of *The Adelphi*. During his lifetime he married four times, the most famous of his wives being Katherine Mansfield whose work he edited after she died. Murry possessed strong Marxist views and was also a Christian and a Pacifist. During his lifetime he published countless essays and reviews for magazines and papers, including the *Times Literary Supplement* and *The Westminster Gazette*.

[374] Many of Aldous Huxley's contributions for *The Athenaeum* occur under the name "Autolycus."

piece of creative prose or poetry to whet the appetite before the more intense reviews of new English literature.

 [375]

Figure 43

Later concerned about the often substantial contents of these reviews, the editor made the decision to rename the section "Literary Gossip" — which, as in *Vogue*, presents the literary creator as a celebrity. Following on from this was the science column, which again dealt in explaining current research rather than delving into too technical an examination. The art section was followed by the portion for music, both equally amenable and conducive to the inquisitive reader. A portion of the magazine devoted to correspondence preceded the "foreign section" regarding works of fiction emerging from overseas. The editorial ended with book announcements and further miscellaneous reviews thought noteworthy but not suitable for the main dedicated sections. This commitment to a coherent layout of editorial content is not something maintained so rigidly by other little or modernist magazines in this period. Publications of *The Athenaeum's* 'type' more often had a much more ad hoc and sporadic "stream of consciousness" approach to layout. *The Athenaeum's* dedication to formatting, style and layout is thus the first point of similarity I wish to highlight between *The Athenaeum* and Todd's *Vogue*.

[375] John Middleton Murry pictured with Katherine Mansfield in 1920.
Sourced from: http://www.katherinemansfield.net/life/briefbio2.html
accessed on 15th April 2103.

Todd amalgamated her contents and presented them in a way revolutionary to what *Vogue* readers were previously accustomed to and as a result presented her modernist message in a much more dramatic fashion.

The second significant point of similarity between Todd's *Vogue* and Murry's *Athenaeum* is the placing and choice of advertising. As has already been analysed, advertising was central to the philosophies and principles that Nast believed governed *Vogue'*s success. The magazine made space for an amount of advertising deemed as immense by comparison with all other types of publications. Advertising in *Vogue* had religiously been placed at the beginning and at the end of each issue so as not to disrupt the main bulk of editorial content. This was the case prior to 1922 and continued to be the model followed during the editorship of Todd. Like *Vogue*, *The Athenaeum* " banished advertising to the opening and closing leaves, unlike other sixpenny weeklies where they could be found interspersed with the main features."[376] It is also important here to utilise *The Athenaeum* as evidence of my earlier statement that advertising was indeed a feature of many modernist magazines and not regarded as a pariah of the mass-market as previously deemed the case. As advertisements could be specifically chosen to cater for the particular target audience of the magazine, not all literary and artistic reviews viewed the publishing of adverts as an overt selling of the soul to consumerism. Nor did these magazines' publishers regard the banning of advertisements as the obligation of the highbrow to take the moral high ground. As is the case with Todd's version of *Vogue*, *The Athenaeum* in the main printed advertisements that were deemed appropriate for the magazine's readership and relevant to the content of the magazine in general. For example, it was not uncommon to view advertisements for bookshops and binding services alongside promotions for new art exhibitions and music recitals in *The Athenaeum,* just as it was normal to expect advertisements for

[376] "Enemies of Cant: *The Athenaeum* and *The Adelphi*" by Michael H. Whitworth in Brooker, Peter & Thacker, Andrew [eds.]*The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.372

dressmakers and fur coat stockists alongside proclamations for new exhibition openings and established booksellers in Todd's *Vogue.* The continual presence of advertising, despite Woolman Chase's accusations, is demonstrative of Todd's success at fusing high fashion with high modernism. Both magazines reveal the need to devalue the established dichotomy which was previously thought to have existed between modernism — represented by the contents of the magazines —and mass culture[377] —represented by the commodity capitalism being advanced through advertising.

Advancing upon these initial, broader points of contact between *Vogue* and *The Athenaeum*, is the more focused matter of the anonymity of the magazines contributors. In "Enemies of Cant: T*he Athenaeum* and *The Adelphi*" by Michael Whitworth, the change in authorial policy adopted by Murry for *The Athenaeum* is discussed:

> a reader of the first few issues would have found the majority of the contributions unsigned. *The Athenaeum* had introduced the principle of anonymous reviewing in the nineteenth century. [...] However, under Murry's editorship the standard practice came to be for essays and poems to be signed with the authors full name or pseudonym, and for the majority of reviews to be initialled.[378]

This description is itself so similar to the story over at *Vogue*, that the name "Murry" could be substituted for the name "Todd" and the description would still ring true. Permitting works to be identified by author was taken incredibly seriously by Murry's *Athenaeum* in what was perhaps an attempt to enable these new, often unheard of creators to acquire renown and status. Each *Athenaeum* frontispiece proudly proclaimed the title and author of the issue's main feature.

[377] This dichotomy will be considered with more detailed exploration in chapter three.
[378] "Enemies of Cant: *The Athenaeum* and *The Adelphi"* by Michael H. Whitworth in Brooker, Peter & Thacker, Andrew [eds.] *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.368-372

These included, "Short Story — The Escape" by Katherine Mansfield for the issue of Friday 9th July 1920, "The Perfect Critic" by T.S. Eliot for the issue of Friday 23rd July 1920, "Two Sketches" by Anton Tchehov (Chekov) for the issue of Friday 13th August 1920, and "Poem" by Thomas Hardy for the issue of Friday 31st December 1920. Either side of the headline space taken by these feature pieces were two identical images of a traditional Greek warrior, leading the reader to consciously evoke the contextual connotations of the magazine's title. There was an enormous increase in the amount of material that was signed or initialled during Todd's editorship than was customary *Vogue* practice before her arrival and indeed, after her dismissal. The reasons for the upholding of the anonymity policy at *Vogue* have been more thoroughly examined in the opening chapter of this thesis. Todd's naming of her authors points to her desire to both accredit their talents as writers, artists, musicians, designers and chefs but also to her wish to make them more popularly known and most importantly, understood.

The contributors that were being increasingly named in both magazines are, in actual fact, my main reasons for utilising *The Athenaeum* as a point of similarity. The below citation, again from Whitworth's article, serves as a pertinent introduction to the main areas I wish to draw upon from here on. Whitworth writes:

> Murry's range of contacts account in part for the eclecticism of the journal and the detachment from particular modernist factions. [...] *The Athenaeum* did not stand in the same relationship to a modernist movement or group as *Blast* did to Vorticism; nor did it represent a set of intellectual values so clearly as the later *Criterion or Calendar of Modern Letters.* Nevertheless during its brief lifetime it created a sense of community among those of its contributors based in London, its sense of identity was reinforced sharply in November 1919 with the launch of J.C. Squire's *London Mercury*. Murry's evening parties brought together many contributors [...] At some point Murry begins

holding *Athenaeum* lunches [...] Virginia Woolf refers to the one in July 1920 as the "first".[379]

The Athenaeum did not seek to align itself with such specificity to one particular strand of modernist thought as other modernist magazines were intent on doing, but instead aimed to instruct its readers about the literary and artistic revolution in more approachable ways. This is a technique that is replicated from 1922 onwards by Todd at *Vogue,* when the magazine became equally as central in its own manifesto and explaining the employment of the same writers and the commissioning of the same kinds of articles. It is necessary to discuss the role of the editors in creating the "sense of community" around their contributors that Whitworth has paid attention to. The lunches Murry held were also a commissioning technique fostered by Todd and are discussed in chapter four. Woolman Chase accredits Todd as being involved personally with the members of London society known as The Bloomsbury Group and records in the form of letters and diaries from that time do indicate a particular involvement that spans beyond that of a professional interest. The amalgamated list of contributors for Murry's *Athenaeum* varies little form the set associated with Todd's *Vogue.* Most prominent among this list of contributors was, Mary Hutchinson — writing under the pseudonym Polly Flinders for both papers — Aldous Huxley, Raymond Mortimer and Virginia Woolf. The familial coterie unity propagated by a shared dedication to the promotion of new ideas in literature and the arts help to foster an unusual sense of the magazine as a community. *The Athenaeum* and *Vogue* also shared a demonstrative commitment to publishing an equal proportion of male and female writers. Chapter five of this research examines the role of the women writers in *Vogue* between 1922 and 1926. Marysa Demoor has considered the female voice in *Their Fair Share: Women, Power and Criticism in The Athenaeum.* In this work, Demoor concludes that only "sporadically" did the female writers of *The*

[379] "Enemies of Cant: *The Athenaeum* and *The Adelphi*" by Michael H. Whitworth in Brooker, Peter & Thacker, Andrew [eds.] *The Oxford Critical and Cultural History of Modernist Magazines, Volume 1, Britain and Ireland 1880-1955* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009) p.373

Athenaeum "inscribe their gender into their reviews in a clearly recognisable way."[380] Instead of regarding this neutralising of gender as a negative characteristic, Demoor instead promotes the idea that this was simply a means of "protecting the position that [women] had acquired"[381] as figures capable of influencing change in cultural production and enabled them to continue being published. Demoor argues that *The Athenaeum,* because of its consistency in publishing the works of women — who by now were becoming well known — developed into a platform for "female pen power."[382] This empowerment allowed women the same editorial space as that offered to men, just as is the case with Todd's *Vogue*. Both texts reveal the extent to which these female contributors can be considered as "harbingers of a modernist lifestyle and a modernist culture"[383] alongside their male counterparts: "Here at last was a paper that was a pleasure to read and an honour to write for, and which linked up literature and life."[384]

The last issue of *The Athenaeum* appeared on 11th February 1921, and the Rowntree Social Science Trust made the decision to amalgamate the magazine with the much more politically inclined *Nation.* On the magazine's closure — a consequence of Murry's decision to resign as editor — it could almost be said that the contributors marched directly onto the pages of Todd's *Vogue,* such was the duplication of the names found in the pages of both supposedly oppositional magazines. It is interesting that Todd's opportunity to edit a magazine should come barely a year after a magazine with such a unique selling point as *The Athenaeum* was no longer around to publish the works of the makers of modernism. Given her "literary and artistic bent" it is more than likely that she would have read *The Athenaeum* and maybe even pseudonymously published in it. Thus she would have been more than aware of the gap in the market that was left by its absence and the relative metaphorical homelessness of its writers. *The Athenaeum* had

[380] Demoor, Marysa, *Their Fair Share: Women, Power and Criticism in The Athenaeum, from Millicent Garrett Fawcet to Katherine Mansfield, 1870-1920* (Hampshire: Ashgate, 2000) p.129
[381] ibid.
[382] ibid. p.132
[383] ibid.
[384] Forster, E.M. *Goldsworthy Lowes Dickenson* (London: E. Arnold & Co, 1934) p.176

offered inquiring readers the opportunity to acquire a familiarity regarding the new movement and ways of approaching and appreciating art and it had offered its contributors the space to write freely, without the restriction of complying to any one set of ideals or principles. Perhaps Todd modelled her version of *Vogue* to fill this void, indeed, giving the meaning of the word "Athenaeum" itself — an institution for literary or scientific study / a library / a place of teaching[385] — *Vogue* could just as easily, with its intention to instruct, its new obsession with literature and art and its influential contributors, become known as *The New Athenaeum.* While there are clear differences between *Vogue* and the other magazines I have discussed, *Vogue,* under Dorothy Todd, displayed sufficient similarities to justify that it at least be considered in relation to the history of modernist magazines and as having had a voice within their dialogue.

2.6 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to provide sufficient evidence to support the idea that during the editorship of Dorothy Todd, *Vogue* was very much a part of the dialogue of modernist magazines. After close examination and analysis of the contents of the issues between 1922 and 1926, it is difficult not to be able distinguish *Vogue* from other magazines which, at their roots, had a likeminded interest and passion for presenting the newest literature and art. Like *The Dial* in America and *The Athenaeum* in England, these new creations were presented in a very particular and accessible way to an inquisitive and culturally curious audience. Centrally, the works themselves were not left isolated; on the contrary they were discussed and debated over, highlighted as part of an ongoing dialogue of development and — through their publication in such magazines — disseminated to the masses. Simply speaking, the magazines I have utilised throughout this chapter all go some way in making modernism understandable, approachable and thus enjoyable to the reading public.

[385] "*Athenaeum*" definition from *The Concise Oxford Dictionary* p.67

As the overwhelming majority of modernist magazines manifested out of a potent post-War consciousness. and in the main most of these achieved relative success in terms of steady readerships, one can say that readers — particularly women — were beginning to welcome, even demand, increased cultural involvement. No-where is this made more clear than through *Vogue.* No marked decrease in circulation can be found to have occurred during Todd's tenure in comparison to the 1916 to 1921 figures, revealing a predominantly female readership encouraging the increasingly eclectic and curious content of the magazine they had previously understood to have been purely motivated by presenting couture. What is interesting to note in relation to this post-War consciousness is the way in which Dorothy Todd went about presenting modernism. Unlike many of her peers and likeminded friends, she did not begin from scratch by establishing a new magazine, but chose instead to edit and inject modernism in a magazine with an already cemented identity: an identity that perhaps in the past prevented scholars from considering *Vogue* as relevant to the inquiry into modernist magazines. This chapter has sought — just as other chapters will continue to seek — to argue that the established *Vogue* "brand" is central to the methodology of Todd's modernist experiment. As editor, Todd did not dismiss fashion as she is accused of having done by Chase, but rather amalgamated it into her own branch of modernism. From the start of this experiment, Todd had hypothesised that her magazine would "not confine itself" to one subject matter, but instead show how the war had changed the world and thus had provoked a change in culture that was crucially in need of exploration. Dorothy Todd's *Vogue* did not merely present fashion alongside art and literature, but wove it into its dialogue, making fashion just as much a part of the modern movement as art, music or literature.

Chapter Three

"Costume is the outward expression of a state of mind"[386]: The Significance of Fashion in *Vogue* 1922-1926

[387]

Figure 44

[386] Anonymous, "Le Monument de Costume," *Vogue*, Late February 1925 p.35

[387] "Benito's heroine, the first of his Art Deco goddesses, arrives at the ballet enveloped in a deep red velvet coat edged with white fur." Packer, William, *The Art of Vogue Covers*, 1909-1940 (London: Octopus,1980) p.144-145

3.1 "The Best of Fashion Papers"[388]: Chapter Introduction

Fashion in *Vogue* between 1922 and 1926 has been either dismissed entirely or discussed in isolation. As a result of this misinterpretation the role of clothing in British *Vogue* during the Todd era has seldom been considered in conjunction with the presentation and promotion of modernism. Aurelia Mahood[389] is among the few scholars who have noted the deliberate correlation between fashion and other more orthodox forms of art in *Vogue* during this time. This chapter will develop this initial connection and argue that Todd purposefully sought to demonstrate how the changes and innovations involved in the dynamic processes of fashion revealed every-day, outward manifestations of the more high-brow aspects of the modernist aesthetics in design. Interestingly, these presentations did not always, as would have commonly been expected, take the form of picture dominated articles and features. Written editorial content also persisted in presenting the poignancy of fashion at the revolutionary moment of the 1920s as part of a larger, encompassing debate. The presentation of fashion in Dorothy Todd's *Vogue* reveals how fashion was not only very much a strand woven into the narrative of modernism, but also a revelation of modernism's dissemination into popular, every-day culture.

Dorothy Todd was known for her passion for art and literature, as much as *Vogue* was known for its dedication to the presentation of fashion. Todd's preoccupation with presenting high-culture to *Vogue* readers would suggest that the presentation of clothing at this time was unavoidable — a part of the magazine she could not erase and had no editorial control over. Considering Todd's other work, titled *The New Interior Decoration,*[390] reveals that fashion was not simply a necessary and unavoidable obstacle to her presentation of modernism, but was central

[388] West, Rebecca, cited in Russell-Noble, Joan, *Recollections of Virginia Woolf by her Contemporaries* (London: Peter Owen, 1972) p.71
[389] Mahood, Aurelea, "Fashioning Readers: The Avant-Garde and British *Vogue*, 1920-1929" in *Women: A Cultural Review,* Volume 13, Number 1 (London: Taylor and Francis, 2002) pp. 37-47
[390] Mortimer, Raymond & Todd, Dorothy, *The New Interior Decoration: An Introduction to its Principles, and International Survey of its Methods,* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1929)

to her own interpretation of the modernist project. In the introduction to this work, published in 1929, Todd and co-author, Raymond Mortimer state:

> [Interior decorating] has continued [to be] one of the most constant and powerful impulses of the human heart, this desire to adorn the place in which we live, second only to the desire to adorn our own bodies. It is an assertion of personality [...] our homes [and our clothing] are in a sense a projection of ourselves.[391]

This work, which aims to document "an important renaissance in architecture and the decorative arts,"[392] reproduced images that "first appeared in *Vogue's* pages."[393] In doing so, *The New Interior Decoration* continually emphasises the similarity of design in terms of architecture and art to the processes involved in clothing design. This similarity is extended as both forms offer the capability to externally reveal an individual's inner consciousness: "with every purchase that we choose, we reveal something of our heart to the perceptive eye."[394] Here, Mortimer and Todd express the message that was consistently being promoted in *Vogue's* pages between 1922 and 1926 — a fashionably dressed individual is one that is also embracing the new in thoughts, in ideas, in approaches, in art. *The New Interior Decoration* reveals Todd 's conviction in the ethic that "costume is the outward expression of a state of mind."[395] This conviction clealry motivated her even after the site initially chosen as the vehicle for the dissemination of this notion, had banished her from its pages.

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[391] Mortimer, Raymond & Todd, Dorothy, *The New Interior Decoration: An Introduction to its Principles, and International Survey of its Methods,* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1929) p.1. It is also interesting to note that this book on the interior decoration of the home and architecture in general, is dedicated to previous fashion editor and lover of Todd; Madge Garland.

[392] ibid. Preface, unnumbered page

[393] ibid. Acknowledgements, unnumbered page

[394] ibid. p.1 Mortimer and Todd continue on to state that "the extraordinary recent increase of interest in Interior Decoration has largely resulted from a more acute need for self-expressing. Life has become in most respects increasingly standardised [...]. Man's house thus becomes the last refuge of individuality. It is suggested by the authors that clothing provides the same kind of refuge from standardisation.

[395] Anonymous, "Le Monument de Costume," *Vogue*, Late February 1925, p.35

The New Interior Decoration also reveals the same preoccupation with the examination of history and its implications upon the present which has already been highlighted within the pages of *Vogue*. The modernist "obsession"[396] with history is also revealed to be intertwined with the notions of both outward self-expression and inner consciousness: "Our age, so far from being decadent, is bursting with vitality [...]. In so vivid and exciting an age is it not a sign of poor spirit, a fatigued imagination to keep our eyes perpetually upon the past?"[397] At the close of the introduction, Mortimer and Todd emphasise the necessity to develop from the past:

> It is not suggested that the magnificent decorative art bequeathed to us by the great craftsmen of the past should be neglected, [they] must continue to inspire the appreciation that they deserve. But they are to be sued as models to rival , not to copy, for inspiration not imitation.[398]

It appears to be the opinion of both the authors that there is a need to move on from the methods of the past and to develop instead the masterpieces of a new era. This request aligns the work to the motivations of the modernist project which was eloquently vocalised by Virginia Woolf in 1924:

> The Georgian novelist, however, was in an awkward predicament […] there were the Edwardians handing out tools. […] Meanwhile the train was rushing to that station where we must all get out. Such, I think, was the predicament in which the young Georgians found themselves about the year 1910. Many of them […] spoilt their early work because, instead of throwing away those tools, they tried to use them. They tried to

[396] Rainey, Lawrence, *Revisiting "The Waste Land"* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2007) p.71
[397] Mortimer, Raymond & Todd, Dorothy, *The New Interior Decoration: An Introduction to its Principles, and International Survey of its Methods,* (London: B.T. Batsford Ltd, 1929) p.5-6. Mortimer and Todd identify the dilemma: "Here, indeed we find ourselves at the heart of the problem. We may live in a period house, eat at a period table, and sleep in a period bed, but we cannot live period lives."
[398] ibid. p.7

> compromise […] something had to be done. At whatever cost of life, limb, and damage to valuable property Mrs Brown must be rescued, expressed, and set in her high relations to the world before the train stopped and she disappeared forever. And so the smashing and the crashing began.[399]

Woolf's "Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown" reveals how progress can be stunted by paying too much attention to the past. Through her analogy of construction, the idea that change, by 1910, was necessary, becomes clear. The increased momentum of development in terms of the evolution of culture also has a great deal to do with taste. The effect of time upon taste and the ability to view changing tastes as signs of cultural progression, are elements to which I will pay attention when considering Raymond Mortimer's article, "The Fashions of the Mind." Since *Vogue's* inception, the presentation of taste had always been the magazine's raison d'être, and between 1922 and 1926 it is possible to witness *Vogue's* attempts to advance the taste of its readers through the collaborative presentation of high fashion and high culture.

The articles and features — written or pictorial — in *Vogue* as well as in *The New Interior Decoration,* reveal the strength of Todd's motivations in terms of her presentation of modernism. *Vogue* was not the only available vehicle that Todd had to present her ideas, nor was her employment at *Vogue* an opportunistic attempt to present fashion as frivolous. The magazine, with its reputation of presenting the epitome in taste, was the deliberate destination of choice for Todd, the perfect vessel to spread the message that she so resolutely believed in: "costume was a state of mind."[400] So dedicated to this particular vision of how sophisticated and intelligent a

[399] Woolf, Virginia, "Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown" [1924]
Sourced from: Kime Scott, Bonnie [ed.] *The Gender of Modernism: A Critical Anthology* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990) p.639-640
[400] Anonymous, "Le Monument de Costume," *Vogue*, Late February 1925, p.35

fashion magazine could be[401] that on her dismissal by Nast in 1926, Todd aimed to create a magazine which was to be like "*Vogue,* only quarterly."[402] A letter written by Todd to Lytton Strachey dated 24th June 1928, provides further evidence of this proposed venture:

> Dear Mr Strachey,
>
> I have not written to you before because I have been entirely [preoccupied crossed out] absorbed by the "business" side of the publication which I propose to issue next September. 1 gather, however, from Clive [Bell} that you have already heard something of that venture and I am writing now to ask you whether you will allow me to use your name, because this would not necessarily entail a contribution for any individual issue. I want, however, to make it quite clear that your acceptance is a matter of paramount importance to me: that I shall, indeed, value it at something like fifty per cent of my total assets!
>
> Editorial prospectus will follow [enclosed is crossed out]. [403]

Strachey's reply of course, is unknown, but Todd's new magazine never became anything more than a dream. We are left with the issues of *Vogue* from 1922 to 1926 to evaluate the success of her integrated presentation of fashion and modernism. This chapter will consider the extent to which the editorial content printed in *Vogue* during the Todd era presented the idea that fashions in clothing were an important part of the artistic modernist aesthetic. I will pay particular attention to the article of Raymond Mortimer alluded to above, as well as the contributions of both Virginia Woolf and the pseudonymous Polly Flinders. I will also consider the important

[401] Under Dorothy Todd, *Vogue* was considered by contemporary artists and writers to have undergone a transformation from being "just another fashion magazine, to being the best of fashion papers and a guide to the modern movement in the arts." West, Rebecca, cited in Russell-Noble, Joan, *Recollections of Virginia Woolf by her Contemporaries* (London: Peter Owen, 1972) p.71

[402] Bell, Anne, Olivier [ed.] *The Diary of Virginia Woolf*, Volume III (New York: Harcourt Brace Javanovich, 1975-1982) p.163

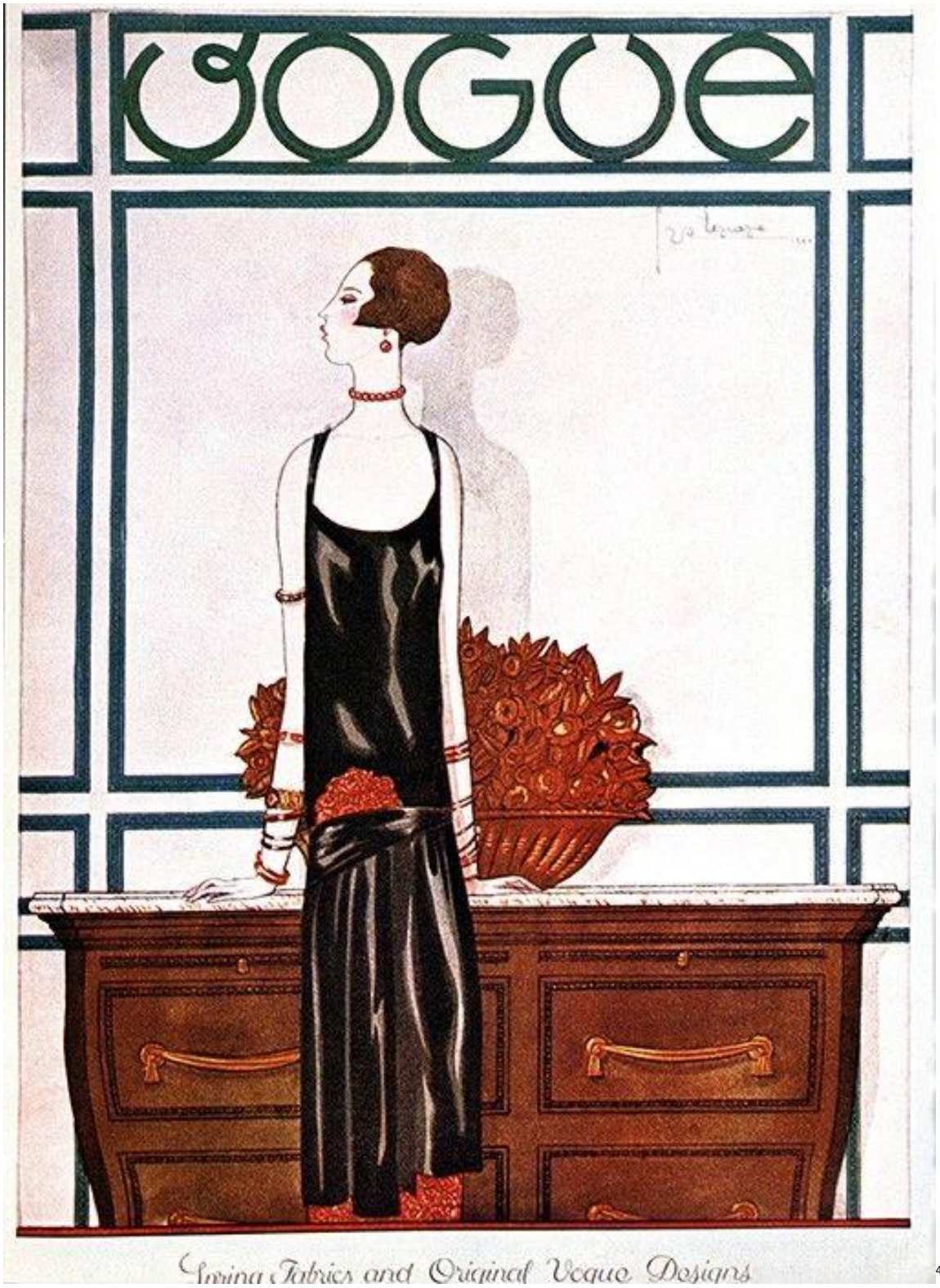
[403] Strachey Papers: Volume LXXVIII (FF247) 13FF. 117-121 Miss Dorothy Todd, 1927-1928 accessed at British Library Special Collections, Manuscripts.

history of fashion in the post-war period and how this context reveals a revolution in clothing akin to the revolution and emancipation experienced in the artistic and literary spheres.

3.2 "What the Germans call Zeitgeist, I prefer to call Fashion"[404]: Fashion and Modernism

On the pages of Todd's *Vogue*, fashion content was integrated with other cultural forms. This integration had never before been such a prominent part of the editorial content. In presenting clothing alongside literature, design, art and music; fashion became a part of the particular modernist aesthetic of Todd's *Vogue*. "The Fashions of the Mind" by Raymond Mortimer,[405] demonstrates the extent to which certain writers were prepared to promote this integration of clothing with other forms of culture through *Vogue's* pages. This amalgamation of phenomena — which *Vogue* had always previously considered to be antithetical— promoted the idea that a fashionably dressed woman was a woman who was also fashionable in her acceptance of new cultural developments and new ideas surrounding the various forms of art. This chapter of will consider how this idea was continually promoted through the issues of *Vogue* between 1922 and 1926, and how the combined publication of fashion, art, music and literature provided the reader with the necessary "tools [...] for a lifestyle of elegance and panache."[406] In the issue of Early February 1924, Raymond Mortimer declares: "If a woman still wears a tight waist, it may be the expression of an exuberant personality: it is more likely to be because she has not the wit to keep up to date."[407] The continual encouragement *Vogue* delivered to her readers to follow the path of progress by adopting the fashions of the moment does not stand apart from the presentation of new creative works of music, art and literature. Mortimer's article vocalises the

[404] Mortimer, Raymond, "The Fashions of the Mind" *Vogue*, Early February 1924 p.49
[405] The critical essay "The Fashions of the Mind was first published in *Vanity Fair* in September 1923 and stated that it had been authored by Mortimer. The same identical essay appeared anonymously in *Vogue* in the issue of Early February 1924, hence justifying my accrediting of the anonymous article to Mortimer in the main body of argument here.
[406] Davis, Mary. E, *Classic Chic: Music, Fashion and Modernism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006) p.3
[407] Mortimer, Raymond, "The Fashions of the Mind" *Vogue*, Early February 1924 p.49



[408]

Figure 45

[408] Cover by Georges Lepape. *Vogue*, Late February 1925

idea that had been promoted in *Vogue's* pages since Todd's inception in 1922: that clothing the body in a modish way had the power to demonstrate outwardly the individual readers' personal capability to embrace modernity. To enable us to fully understand why fashion was regarded by Todd as part of the modernist movement, it is necessary to gain an understanding of the important post-War context of fashion.

The period identified as The Long Weekend[409] between the two World Wars marked what is arguably the most dramatic overhaul in terms of the way women clothed their bodies. Before this time, women had been confined in outfits they had needed a maid to help them get in and out of. Between 1900 and 1939, women were slowly being set free of these cloth prisons and were permitted to don outfits that were looser fitting and which also encouraged, rather than prohibited freedom of movement. These fabric creations were also increasingly being considered as works of art in their own right. From this point in its history, fashion started to have much more to do with modernism than has often been acknowledged, and *Vogue* in the Todd era took it upon itself to promote the dialogue between clothing and other cultural forms. The era during which Dorothy Todd presided over the editorial copy at *Vogue* was the most dynamic and disruptive within the history of fashion. This section of my research will consider the innovations made in the realm of female fashions by both Paul Poiret and Gabrielle "Coco" Chanel at the beginning of the decade known as "The Roaring Twenties." Highlighting the work of these instrumental figures from fashion history, really emphasises the growth in the ability to be creative with one's dress and the increased capabilities of fashion to function as a tool for the expression of the individual. By transforming fashion in this way, these designers demonstrated to *Vogue* how clothing was beginning to operate as a method in which one could simultaneously express modernity, encourage the development of the modern and reveal the wearer's own capabilities to embrace modernism.

[409] Graves, Robert, & Hodge, Alan, [1940] *The Long Weekend: A Social History of Great Britain, 1918-1939* (London: Sphere Books, 1991)

If the movement of modernism as we now acknowledge it was stimulated by a cataclysmic overruling of the old orders and established conventions, then Paul Poiret instigated a modernist movement in fashion. Poiret, a Parisienne couturier, "contributed to fashion what Picasso contributed to twentieth century art"[410] and was known amoung is contemporaries as "Le Magnifique," or "King of Fashion." The financial struggles he faced after returning from war in 1919 however, forced him to close his fashion house in Paris in 1929. Poiret's premature exit from the fashion world meant that his involvement in advancing the modern movement in fashion was not widely acknowledged. Poiret is also an interesting example of how artisitic forms of the 1920s served as influences to each other. Poiret founded *Atelier Martine* which was first a school of textiles and then a specailised school of interior decoration. Poiret's costume designs were predominantly influenced by the theatre (Diaghilev's *Ballet Russes*) and literature (*10O1 Arabian Nights*.) Poiret, as a revolutionary figure in the emancipation of women from the final vestiges of Victorian and Edwardian formality reveals —perhaps more than any other renowned 1920s designer— the potential for the interplay of art forms which the *Vogue* of Todd promoted. Poiret's attention to the natural shaplinesss of the female figure —pointedly unconfined by the S-bend corsets —which influenced all his deigns, reveals the new freedom offered to the contemporary female of the 1920s. This liberation was continually being expressed through *Vogue's* pages between 1922 and 1926.

The "pivotal moment in the emergence of modernism, effectively establish[ing] the paradigm of modern fashion, irrevocably changing the direction of costume history"[411] instigated by Poiret, was concerned primarily with freedom of movement, a repeated reference to the oriental and the injection of colour. It will be noted that these innovations were revolutions not dissimilar to the fundamentals which modernist art and design concerned themselves with. These

[410] Patner, Josh, "The Way We Move: How Paul Poiret freed us from the corset," *Slate*, 18 May 2007
[411] The Metropolitan Museum of Art, Special Exhibitions: "Poiret: King of Fashion" August, 2007. Program sourced from: http://www.metmuseum.org/metmedia/audio/exhibitions/016-poiret-king-of-fashion
accessed on 14th November 2013

changes in how women were expected to dress, had the effect of not only "changing the direction of costume history" but also essentially changed the roles able to be fulfilled by women. When Poiret liberated women from the restrictions of the corset — instead choosing to clothe them in free-flowing, billowing yards of fabric — he offered them the increased capability to move, and a

[412]

Figure 46

[412] Anonymous, "Madame Agnès who first sponsored modernism in dress" *Vogue*, Early October 1925 p.60. Photographed by Steichen, Madame Agnès, the French milliner is heralded as "a perfect example of the great chic to be found in the application of recent art influence in costume design."

simultaneous appreciation of their own feminine shape. Poiret's designs were relevant to the modern female who had increased contact with modes of transportation, the world of work and who were more likely to engage in leisure activities.

References to the Oriental, as Zhaoming Qian [413] has shown, were a constitutive element of modernism which bred from a fascination, on the part of writers such as William Carols Williams and Ezra Pound, with Chinese culture. This romantic, creative collision of East and West was thoroughly documented in the pages of *Vogue* with articles appearing under headlines such as: "The Indo-Chinese influence Thus Sways the Mode,"[414] "The Chinese Taste in England"[415] and "A Russian Dancer in a Chinese Tea Gown."[416] The influence of the East in Poiret's designs in particular, demonstrated fashion's involvement within the sphere of art. Fabric, for these innovative designers, became a blank canvas through which they could assimilate themselves with themes of high-brow art. *Vogue* presented this integration of fashion with art through its expression of Chinese influences in fashion as well as through painting, decoration and sculpture in articles such as "An exhibition of Chinese Bronzes" [417] and "Chinese Ceramic Art and Architecture."[418] When Virginia Woolf published her review of "The Tale of Genji"[419] in *Vogue* in 1925, the connections between art forms and the subsequent integration of fashion was completed. Todd's promotion of the influence of Oriental culture spanned across music, design, art, the stage, literature and fashion and was also expressed, powerfully, through the covers of the magazine, as the examples overleaf will demonstrate.

[413] Qian, Zhaoming, *Orientalism and Modernism: The Legacy of China in Pound and Williams* (North Columbia: Duke University Press Books, 1995)
[414] Anonymous, The Indo-Chinese influence thus sways the mode" *Vogue*, Late April 1923 p.88
[415] Anonymous, "The Chinese Taste in England" *Vogue*, Late September 1923 p.48
[416] Anonymous, "A Russian Dancer in a Chinese Tea Gown" *Vogue,* Early April 1926 p.72
[417] Anonymous, "An Exhibition of Chinese Bronzes" *Vogue*, Early January 1926 p.47
[418] Anonymous, "Chinese Ceramic Art and Architecture" *Vogue*, Early April 1924 p.76
[419] Woolf, Virginia, "The Tale of Genji" *Vogue*, Late July 1925 p. 53 Woolf's critique of "Arthur Waley's translation of the first volume of a great Japanese Novel" The Tale of Genji (1010-1020?) by Lady Murasaki Shikikbu.

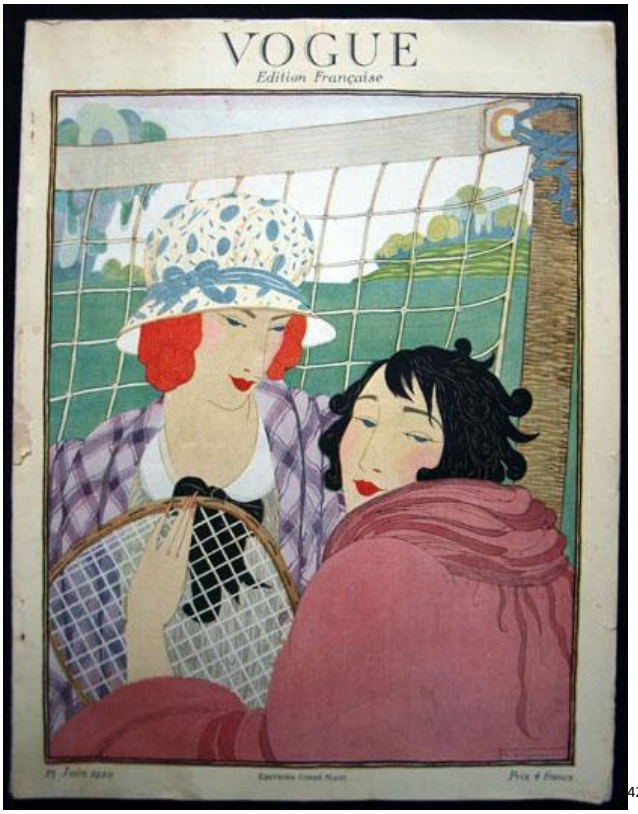
The last renovation made by Poiret within the realm of fashion can again be related to art, particularly when considering the way Poiret himself discussed his innovation. In his memoir, Poiret reflects how he:

> loosed a number of fairly substantial wolves into the fold; reds, greens, violets and royal blues [that] made the rest sing. The Lyonnais silk manufacturers had become rather set in their ways and needed to be jolted into putting a bit of gaiety and some new freshness into their colours. There were orange and lemon crepes de chine they would never have dreamed of. Conversely, morbid mauves were put to flight: the gamut of pastel shades created a new dawn. I revised the whole scale of colours by going straight for the most intense tones, and I brought faded shades back to life.[420]

Poiret's open rejection of the muted colours of the Victorian and Edwardian eras and his preoccupation with the exotic, mirrored the changes which were being played out in paint in the world of modern art. Modernist works were not instantly accepted as valuable to the world of classical art, and the bright audaciousness of Poiret's garments led many critics to view his theatrical creations as simply too avant-garde. Innovators are seldom embraced during their own eras, and Poiret, like any inventor imbued with conviction for his own works, refused to compromise on his designs. Instead Poiret emphasised his own daring in his showcasing of ideas. There is no idea more daring than Poiret's harem trousers for women which he revealed at his "Thousand and Second Night" party on June 24th 1911.[421] These trousers, inspired by Leon Bakst's designs for *The Ballets Russes*, reveal not only the potential for women's freedom but also the

[420] Poiret, Paul, *En Habillant L'epoque* (Paris: Library Grasset, 1930) cited in Lepape, Claude, & Defert, Thomas, *From the Ballets Russes to Vogue: The Art of Georges Lepape*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 1984) p.38

[421] This party was attended by three hundred of Poiret's friends and acquaintances. His guests were required to dress in a Persian style. Costumes suited to this theme would be provided at the venue. His guests were shocked at the ultimate scandal of females in trousers. This opulent, extravagant pre-war party has also been viewed by fashion historians as the first fashion show, with Poirets guests becoming oblivious models for his new, shocking designs.
Sourced from: Deslandres, Yvonne, *Poiret* (London: Thames & Hudson Ltd, 1987)



[422]

Figure 47

[423]

Figure 48

[424]

Figure 49

[422] Cover by Helen Dryden, *Vogue,* Late June 1920
[423] Helen Dryden, *Vogue*, Late September 1922
[424] Helen Dryden's last cover for *Vogue* in Late January 1923. All three examples are intended to demonstrate the extent of the collision between Western modernism and Eastern art portrayed through *Vogue* at this time.

narrowing of the divide between fashion and high-brow art forms, which Todd was to pay great attention to in *Vogue*.

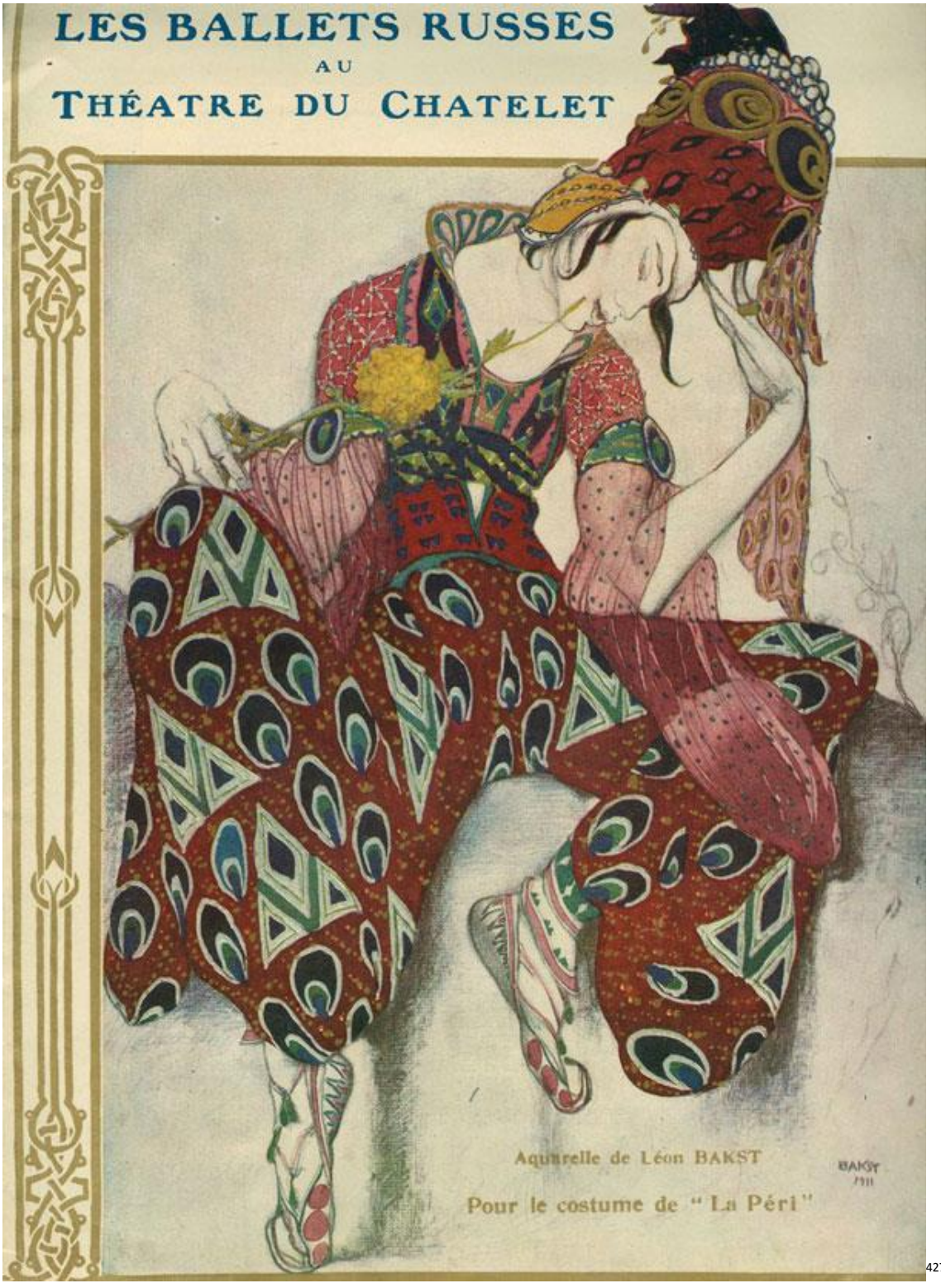
425


426

Figure 50

Female designers were no new occurrence of the 1920s. Madeleine Chéruit and Madeleine Vionnet had long been considered as fashion design authorities in both Europe and America. Both women were visionaries in terms of their accomplishments in the world of female fashions —Chéruit for her focus upon light reflecting fabrics such as lamé and hand painted art inspired dresses, and Vionnet for the development of the bias cut and use of unconventional fabrics such as satin and crêpe de Chine. Both these designers can be said to have contributed to Todd's presentation of fashion as art and thus to the idea of fashion as part of Modernism through their designs. These designers, who continued to retain a strong presence in the issues of

[425] March 1914, Model wearing a Poiret creation.
Sourced from: http://designhistorypaulpoiret.blogspot.co.uk/
accessed on 14th November 2013.
[426] Paul Poiret with his tailor and a model. ibid.



[427]

Figure 51

[427] The frontispiece for a programme of *The Ballet Russes* displaying the flouncing pantaloons of Leon Bakst which had inspired Paul Poiret.
Sourced from: http://designhistorypaulpoiret.blogspot.co.uk/
accessed on 14th November 2013

 [428]

Figure 52

Todd's *Vogue*[429] have since been overshadowed by possibly the most famous female visionary of the fashion world: Gabrielle "Coco" Chanel. Chanel identified that: "Fashion is not something that exists in dresses only. Fashion is in the sky, in the street, fashion has to do with ideas, the way we live, what is happening."[430] Clothing, for Chanel, as it was for Todd, was a tool which could outwardly reveal progression. Todd's lover and fashion editor, Madge Garland, once proclaimed that: "the whole position of women in Western civilization, is her struggle for equality and her success, is reflected in the garments she has worn."[431] Chanel's clothes reveal, more than the work of any other designer, the extent of the development of the position of women n the 1920s.

[428] Paul Poiret dressing a model in his harem trousers based on Leon Bakst's pantaloons.
Sourced from: http://designhistorypaulpoiret.blogspot.co.uk/
accessed on 14th November 2013

[429] Articles focusing on Vionnet include: Anonymous, "Vionnet makes a point of geometrical design" *Vogue*, Late April 1925 p.54 and Anonymous, "Vionnet clings to narrow lines" *Vogue*, Late February 1923 p.42. Whilst Chéruit is discussed under titles such as, Anonymous, "Chéruit presents new versions of the tailored trend" *Vogue*, Early January 1925, p.59 and Anonymous, "Chéruit uses the circular flare in a crêpe ensemble" *Vogue*, Late March 1925 p.73

[430] Chanel, Coco, in Madsen, Axel, *Chanel : A Woman of Her Own* (New York: Henry Holt & Company, 1991) p.124

[431] Garland, Madge, on http://www.1920s-fashion-and-music.com/coco-chanel-designs.html
accessed on 10th May 2014

[432]

Figure 53

The work of Chanel provided Todd the opportunity to reveal the integration of modernism and fashion. As well as outlining the importance of fashion in everyday life in the quotation cited above, Chanel herself once proudly boasted that she had "freed the body."[433] *Voguepedia,* the innovative online resource documenting "The World of Fashion in *Vogue*," explains that Chanel's liberation of the body was achieved "with a snip of her scissors and the use of liberating fabrics like jersey."[434] This resource also claims that "Mademoiselle [Chanel] practically invented modernism in fashion."[435] Chanel's contribution to modernizing fashion for women, paradoxically originated from her willingness to "borrow from the boys"[436] creating a sporty, utilitarian, relaxed easy elegance which often bordered on the androgynous. Chanel's first appearance in *Vogue* in 1916 documented her use of jersey — a fabric which had previously been used solely for the manufacture of men's underwear — and its suitability for the modern female.

[432] The image of Chanel's "Little Black Dress" made its debut in *Vogue* in 1926. *Vogue* proclaimed "Here is a Ford signed "Chanel"" alluding to the Ford's near universal appeal, its wide availability and black only colour option. *Vogue* correctly predicted that the "Little Black Dress" would become "a sort of uniform for all women of taste."
[433] Chanel, Coco, on: http://www.*Vogue*.com/*Vogue*pedia/Coco_Chanel
accessed on 15th April 2012
[434] ibid.
[435] idem.
[436] idem.

This use of a fabric which had been previously off limits to the female fashion sphere is also indicative of the modernist mantra to use the past as inspiration for innovation. The loose fitting lines of Chanel's cardigan suits and smart jersey frocks, conducive to mobility and leisure were ideal for the increasingly independent women of the War and post-War eras. Pockets were also a feature of women's clothing for the first time under Chanel's influence, as were smart tailored two-piece suits. Turtleneck sweaters, straight line skirts and sailor blouses — inspired by Chanel's times in Deauville — represented the rise of women's sportswear de luxe. The emphasis on leisure and sport revealed the extent of Chanel's alarmingly simple design mode and application of modest, previously dismissed fabrics. The simple austerity of Chanel marked a deliberate break away from not only the corsetry of women's past, but from the ostentatious frills, petticoats and layering which had previously suffocated them: "Chanel's uncluttered styles, with their boxy lines and shortened skirts [...] freed women for the practical activities made necessary by war."[437] The designs of Chanel were presented in *Vogue* as the exemplars of "polished modernity."[438] Women had never before been granted the luxury of combining comfort with elegance. Even Chanel's evening designs were designed with practicality in mind and obeyed Chanel's own ethos that "luxury must be comfortable, otherwise it is not luxury."[439] Chanel's evening dresses, decorated with heavy beading, lavish embroidery, metallic lace and overlapping sequins were not fitted to the body, but rather hung, loosely, promoting unrestricted movement. These dresses, which flowed rather than clung, transported women from sitting in the salons, to dancing the Charleston in speak-easys, explaining why Chanel was the flapper's designer of choice. In the issue of American *Vogue* of August 1919, Dorothy Parker stated: "the style of all women has changed completely. It is all directly due to the war —the war which started so many things that it couldn't possibly finish."[440] The example of Chanel demonstrates the extent to which fashion was adapted

[437] Sourced from: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/chnl/hd_chnl.htm
[438] Cosgrave, Bronwyn, *Vogue On: Coco Chanel,* (London: Quadrille Publishing, 2012) p.31
[439] Chanel, Coco, ibid. p. 40
[440] Parker Dorothy in American *Vogue*, August 1919.
Sourced from: Ross, Josephine, *Society in Vogue: The International Set Between the Wars,* (New York: Vendome Press, 1992) p.9

to suit women as a consequence of the Great War. After having experienced such a liberation in terms of their clothing, women could no longer be restricted by the stiffness of past modes. This particular era in the history of clothing and fashion marks the turning point when fashion became as much a part of culture as music, art and literature. The way one chose to clothe one's body and the way new innovative designers dared to differ from the past, both mark a direct correlation to the ways in which modernist thinkers were creating new forms through which to express themselves. The designs of Poiret and subsequently Chanel, demonstrated not only a liberation of women's bodies, but also the resulting liberation of their minds.

Vogue considered the synonymous notions of taste and civilisation to be achieved through the combination of fashionable dressing and fashionable thinking. Dressing modishly also demonstrated an open rejection of the old and restricting orders which had reigned over women's bodies as well as their minds. The potential to express progress offered by clothing revealed the *Vogue* readers' new found intellectual and fashion based freedoms. In order to demonstrate the extent of *Vogue's* proposed integration of fashion with modernism, I wish to turn to Raymond Mortimer's article "The Fashions of the Mind."[441] Fashion, remarks Mortimer in this essay, is a "fundamental element in culture" and is subject to changing "as the vanguard of culture advances."[442] The advance of culture shown through the development of ideas, religions, philosophies, music, art, drama and literature, is revealed most overtly through fashion.

"Every revolution begins with a change of clothes"[443] René Bizet stated, and the "renaissance" which Dorothy Todd hoped to consolidate between 1922 and 1926, revealed the need to reconsider fashion not only as important, but as part of this larger dialogue of cultural development. Essentially remarks Mortimer, this dialogue is stimulated by both time and taste.

[441] Mortimer, Raymond, "The Fashions of the Mind" *Vogue*, Early February 1924 p.49
[442] ibid.
[443] Millholland, Inez, "Change of Clothes, Change of Mind" in *The Masses*, February 1913 p.3

The examples of Poiret and Chanel were utilised above in order to demonstrate the notion that fashions in clothing during the 1920s became another form of expressing progress and modernity. Clothing, of the most modish variety, had the power to be the most explicit indicator of cultural development: "Specific taste must vary as the vanguard of that culture advances"[444] Mortimer instructs, and essentially this article is itself concerned with encouraging *Vogue* readers to follow and promote such a cultural advance. The period of the 1920s, which is the focus of Mortimer's article, is regarded even among its contemporaries as one of a particularly dynamic nature:

> Fashions in religion, in philosophy, in nature and the arts generally do not change as quickly as they do in millinery, but they change quite quickly enough. When people reach a certain age, they normally grow mentally inelastic, and those who think themselves young enough to follow the fashions of the body become too old to follow the fashions of the mind [...] for if the young call mental dowdiness ridiculous, the old call mental chic immoral.[...] Today fashion papers seem to appear every fortnight to keep up to date; soon no self-respecting woman will be able to wear on a Wednesday anything so antiquated in style as her Tuesday costume. It is the same with the things of the mind.[445]

In its acknowledgement of taste being affected by time, Mortimer's article also identifies the extreme oppositions between the pre-War and post-War worlds. The vast amount of both social and cultural change caused by the Great War, had the effect of making the memorable past seem ancient and archaic. The change is so abrupt that it becomes a sign of utter witlessness not to reconsider ones opinions and "habits":

[444] Mortimer, Raymond, "The Fashions of the Mind" *Vogue*, Early February 1924 p.49
[445] ibid.

> The fashions in the mind are not altogether governed by hazard [...] the people who refuse to change their mental furniture have no right to consider themselves superior. Man may be a creature of habit, but it is a sign of intelligence to change your habits.[446]

Mortimer's article is encouraging "mental elasticity" — the ability to adapt and embrace the new. The socio-cultural observer who changes his "mental furniture [and] habits" to suit the times is presented as intelligent, whereas the female who "still wears a tight waste" is considered to have not "the wit to keep up to date." Change, shown outwardly through Mortimer's decorative metaphors, is necessary for progress: "The only constant characteristic of man is his fickleness, the only unchanging thing, his love of change [...] fashion means change, and change, in the long run, improvement."[447]

Mortimer concludes his article with what is, fundamentally a comment upon documenting "the most interesting history in the world [that which] is still unwritten [...] the history of taste."[448] *Vogue* was originally intended to be a magazine representing the epitome of tasteful living. Dorothy Todd had realised that taste no longer meant simply dressing well in a well presented home. To be thoroughly tasteful and civilised one had to be knowledgeable about culture and aware of progress. Mortimer writes:

> A generation which does not revolt from the fashions of its fathers makes a poor figure in history. So our elders' complaints that the world is not what it was, are of excellent omen. People like their own young days but nobody else's. Look around, and you will see there is hope for us yet. In dress and in decoration, in literature and all the fine

[446] Mortimer, Raymond, "The Fashions of the Mind" *Vogue*, Early February 1924 p.49
[447] ibid.
[448] idem.

arts, in the countries that we like to visit, in everything we love and everything we despise, we have a taste of our own. Hate it if you like — you are only anticipating the next generation in doing so — but first make sure what it is. It is not easy to get paper patterns of the fashions of the mind.[449]

[450]

Figure 54

[451]

Figure 55

[449] Mortimer, Raymond, "The Fashions of the Mind" *Vogue*, Early February 1924 p.49

[450] Examples of the extreme cinched in waist of the early 1900s, illustrated by *Vogue*'s in house caricaturist in 1917. Sourced from: Watson, Linda, *Vogue: Twentieth Century Fashion, 100 Years of Style by Decade and Designer* (London: Carlton Books Limited, 1999) p.20

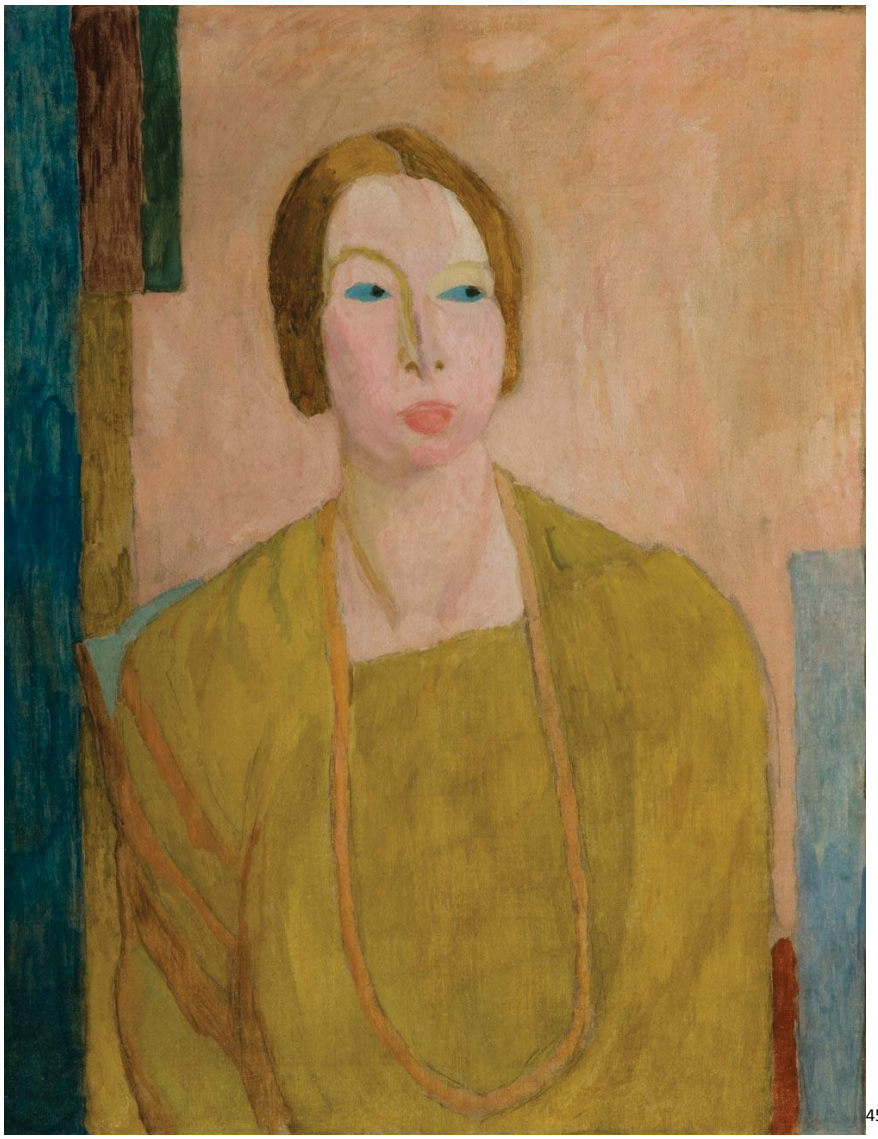
[451] The increasingly fashionable drop waist pictured in *Vogue* in 1925. Sourced from: Watson, Linda*, Vogue: Twentieth Century Fashion, 100 Years of Style by Decade and Designer* (London: Carlton Books Limited, 1999) p.27

Mortimer summarizes how history is a phenomena that the younger generation revolt from and the older generation cling to. Mortimer enigmatically encourages a little more consideration on the part of the elders. Mortimer's emphasis on development has less to do with trends and fads — which are indeed considered frivolous by those who are wise — and more to do with individual understandings of taste. Mortimer encourages knowledge and understanding before dismissal, as taste is not formed out of invisible nothings nor from a shallow attempt to differ deliberately from the past. Instead, taste is informed by socio-cultural development and evolution. There is thus a need to understand both the world around us and the events which occur outside of our own control which constitute our individual histories, before contemporary notions of taste are dismissed. Fashions of the body are easily replicated given money and study, but — so says Mortimer's closing sentence — understanding our developing culture cannot be so simply pieced together.

Underlying this article which unites fashion with other cultural forms, are the poignant twentieth century notions of individuality and interpretation. Fashion, having been released from the stiffness of Victorian and Edwardian formality, outwardly reveals the manifestations of socio-cultural transformations. People — particularly those of the female sex — were increasingly able to choose for themselves, to consider their options, to be unconfined and free to make up their own minds. They were no longer ordered to dress in restrictive outfits of corseted conformity, but instead had the freedom to dance in dresses of jersey, liberated in body and thus in mind.

3.3 An '"Exquisitely Civilised Lady of Fashion."[452] Mary Hutchinson in *Vogue*

In the opening pages to her "aptly named"[453] *Fugitive Pieces*, Mary Hutchinson writes: "My acknowledgements are due to the editors of *The Nation and Athenaeum* and of *Vogue*, in which papers the essays called 'Weathercocks' originally appeared, under the name of 'Polly



[454]

Figure 56

[452] Bell, Clive, "Virginia Woolf" in *The Dial*, December 1924 p.65
[453] Murray, Nicholas, *Aldous Huxley: A Biography* (London: St, Martin's Press, 2003) p.98
[454] Bell, Vanessa *Portrait of Mary St. John Hutchinson*, 1915. Sourced from: http://www.neh.gov/humanities/2009/marchapril/feature/british-modernism%E2%80%99s-many-mannersl accessed on 22nd November 2013

Flinders'"[455] Published by The Hogarth Press of Leonard and Virginia Woolf in 1927, *Fugitive Pieces* is Mary Hutchinson's sole published work and contains all of her previously published and unpublished articles as well as her works of fiction. Many of the articles will be considered in detail in chapter five in terms of their influence upon *Vogue* readers and their involvement within the dialogue of *Vogue's* feminine literary aesthetic. One article included in this anthology however, is rather interestingly not printed in *Vogue*. This article, entitled "Streets to Shop In" is undoubtedly more akin to what readers of *Vogue* and indeed *Vogue's* American proprietors would have more commonly been expecting as reading material in the magazine. Contrary to these expectations, this particular article appeared not in *Vogue*, but in *The Nation and Athenaeum*: the only other site for Hutchinson's printed works.

The preoccupation with the matters of the commercial this article draws upon makes its publication in *The Nation and Athenaeum* appear as somewhat incongruous. Hutchinson completes a thorough survey of the nature of the different popular shopping streets of London. From King Street, Hammersmith — "I would not advise anyone to shop here, attractive and cheap as the shops are said to be"[456] — to the overcrowded pavements of High Street Kensington. Hutchinson credits Bond Street as being "the smartest thoroughfare of the world"[457] but encourages the London shopper to explore: "No— hasten on — London is like Cleopatra — she will change; and soon will you!"[458] Tottenham Court Road is Hutchinson's final, and clearly favoured, destination. This particular street is given high praise by Hutchinson, but interestingly, seems to be credited for much more than its commercial credentials. Hutchinson writes that:

> Here is London disguised again, and with a certain glamour, for almost everything you need is in the Tottenham Court Road. There is a theatre and several Night Clubs,

[455] Hutchinson, Mary, *Fugitive Pieces* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1927) p.ii
[456] ibid. p.116
[457] ibid. p.118
[458] ibid. p.116

> besides the best bedding; one turning leads to a restaurant whose patron and clientele are famous, another to all that is most intelligent, to all that is the most beautiful, in London.[459]

This is the sort of note which I would expect a Todd commissioned *Vogue* article to have ended upon. Hutchinson implies that what makes a street truly fashionable is the availability of cultural hotspots and opportunities for socialising. Tottenham Court Road for example, offers visitors access to both theatrical and musical performances as well as fine dining and dancing. Further to this, Hutchinson unites the terms "beautiful" and "intelligent," promoting the idea that outward appearance and inner consciousness are linked. This end paragraph which references Tottenham Court Road may also exist as a thinly veiled reference to the area and people of Bloomsbury — The British Museum and Russell Square being only metres away.

Alongside Hutchinson's other articles — which predominantly consider the position of contemporary femininity —this article appears comparatively whimsical and frivolous. *The Nation and Athenaeum* was not necessarily the site in which one would have expected to find such an article. The previous chapter sought to place *Vogue* within the dialogue of the modernist magazines of which *The Athenaeum* was also very much a part. Due to financial struggles, *The Nation* absorbed *The Athenaeum* in 1921, leaving a "gap in the market" which as previously argued, I believe Todd's *Vogue* attempted to fill. Under the editorship of John Maynard Keynes, Leonard Woolf became literary editor of the newly merged *The Nation and Athenaeum* in 1923. Hutchinson, because of her familial connections,[460] became part of Bloomsbury's interconnecting

[459] Hutchinson, Mary, *Fugitive Pieces* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1927) p.119

[460] Born in 1889 to Sir Hugh Barnes and Winifred Strachey Barnes, Mary Hutchinson was Lytton Strachey's cousin. Mary married a lawyer, St. John Hutchinson. After having been introduced to Strachey's circle of literary and artistic friends in 1911, Hutchinson begun an affair with Clive Bell in 1914. Bell was married to Virginia Woolf's sister Vanessa, who was also involved romantically with Duncan Grant at this time. Hutchinson was admired by Aldous Huxley and T.S. Eliot as well as D.H. Lawrence who admired her ability to "really listen to a man." Hutchinson also fell in love with Virginia Woolf who often commented upon her with an amount of disdain. Information gathered from Murray, Nicholas, *Aldous Huxley: A Biography* (London: St, Martin's Press, 2003)

web of association. I would like to argue, however, that her contribution in *The Nation and Athenaeum* was based on more than just nepotism. The publication of this article from a figure who was known for her awareness and passion for fashion reveals an acceptance of fashion based content as an interesting topic for consideration. The publication of content which references fashion and commodity culture as central themes demonstrates an acceptance that this was not just a subject for the consideration of mass market female fashion magazines. The publication of "Streets to Shop In" in *The Nation and Athenaeum* in particular highlights the link between "beauty" and "intelligence" which was increasingly being emphasised and examined. As previously stated, the central idea of these magazines, was to disseminate topics which were new and in need of consideration: they were not intended to stand as instruction manuals dictating what readers should think or know. Therefore, the publication of Hutchinson's fashion focused piece may have been an invitation for further clothing conscious criticism. In publishing articles, stories and features relating to clothing, the division between mass market magazines like *Vogue* and modernist magazines, such as *The Athenaeum,* became narrower. Clothing and fashion became subject matters which thus served to unify the engaging magazines in an open dialogue.

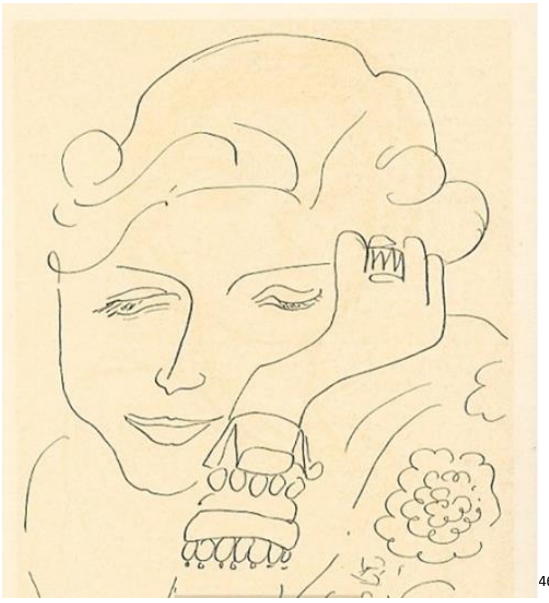
In her biography of Virginia Woolf, Hermione Lee references Mary Hutchinson and describes her as: ''worldly, elegantly fashionable, ugly-charming, [a woman who] had a wonderful taste in clothes, painting and interior decoration."[461] and the voice of *Vogue* herself proclaimed her as "that witty lady of fashion"[462] Clive Bell also mimics this appraisal, identifying Hutchinson as a an "exquisitely civilised lady of fashion."[463] This praise of Hutchinson points to her being Todd's perfect *Vogue* contributor; combining intelligence with a polished and modern appearance. This combination is highlighted by the fact that Mary Hutchinson was a subject matter for

[461] Lee, Hermione, *Virginia Woolf* (London: Vintage, 1997) p.70
[462] Anonymous, "So this is Polly Flinders..." *Vogue*, Late October 1924 p.58
[463] Bell, Clive, "Virginia Woolf" in *The Dial*, December 1924 p.65

contemporary modernist artists — always pictured in defining 1920s dress — as well as being a contemporary cultural commentator herself.

In a letter to her lover, Vita Sackville West, Virginia Woolf wrote of Hutchinson's love for the contemporary designer Charles James. The relationship between Woolf and Hutchinson is considered in more detail below, but it is important for now to acknowledge Hutchinson's fondness for strikingly modern designs. Woolf writes:

> I dined with Mary and she told me about Charlie James the man milliner who was dropped by Heaven into her hands [...]. Her new dress is like that cold dish at Fortnum [and Mason's], all white with black dice, or like Christabel's hall, or like anything that's symmetrical, diabolical and geometrically perfect. So geometrical is Charlie James that if a stitch is crooked [...] the whole dress is torn to shreds.[464]



[465]

Figure 57

[464] Nicholson, Nigel & Trautmann, Joanne [eds.] *The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume V, 1932-1935 (London: Hogarth, 1982) p.157-158

[465] Matisse, Henri, *Madame Mary Hutchinson*, 1937.
Sourced from: http://www.artbohemia.cz/en/prints/16588-madame-mary-hutchinson-1937-.html
accessed on 19th July 2013

[466]

Figure 58

[466] Matisse, Henri, *Madame Mary Hutchinson*, 1937.
Sourced from: http://www.artbohemia.cz/en/prints/16588-madame-mary-hutchinson-1937-.html accessed on 19th July 2013

[467]

Figure 59

[467] Anonymous, *Photograph of Mary Hutchinson with Vanessa Bell's painting, "The Tub"* 1916. Sourced from: http://www3.tate.org.uk/research/researchservices/archive/showcase/item.jsp?item=409 accessed on 19th July 2013

 [468]

Figure 60

Mary Hutchinson, with her profound interest in dressing fashionably, was a walking example of how fashion and modernism collided in this period. As a figure, she also demonstrates how *Vogue* was attempting to present this integration to its readership by writing both cultural criticism and fashion editorials simultaneously. "Femininities" is one of Hutchinson's articles which exemplifies her beliefs about the role of fashion in the lives of women. This article will be considered in terms of its promotion of the *Vogue* specific female literary aesthetic in chapter five of this research. For the purpose of this chapter however, "Femininities" reveals Hutchinson's assurance in her own state of fashionable dressing, and therefore the potential for all women to be both "beautiful and "intelligent"[469]:

> After pondering on the swift changing fashions, and the number of butterflies we can in a very short time be nowadays, after counting up the heaps of discarded colored wings - skirts like blades and petals - pointed and snub shoes - long and short gloves - which have succeeded - which keep on succeeding each other - one realizes how very seldom one

[468] Example of Charles James designs from the 1920s through to 1930s.
sourced from: http://www.vam.ac.uk/users/node/3330
accessed on 13th July 2013
[469] Hutchinson, Mary, *Fugitive Pieces* (London: The Hogarth Press, 1927) p.119

> sees, how much one would like to see - say - an old jacket. [...] Our clothes have not time to help us, and so it is sometimes difficult to see what we are really like - we tend to resemble one another and never to remember ourselves.[470]

On the surface, this citation from Hutchinson's article appears to be attacking the ever-changing nature of fashion. This presentation makes fashion appear frivolous. On further consideration however, it would appear that Hutchinson believes that instead of clothes being considered as inconsequential in defining a self, if understood, appreciated and chosen wisely, they become valuable and able to "help us." The motif of the jacket is an interesting one. Hutchinson's "old jacket" is not old in terms of real time, but old in comparison to the brand new of fashion time Through repeated wear, this jacket has had real time to become a commodity which helps to identify a person. In 1928, Woolf wrote of this association and the effect of clothing upon the wearer in *Orlando*: "There is much to support the view that it is clothes that wear us and not we them; we may make them take the mould of arm or breast but they would mould our hearts, our brains, our tongues to their liking."[471] It would appear then, that clothing in the modernist era was beginning to be understood as an important part of outwardly revealing a person's inner consciousness.

> Do not the bangles break every day? The pearls are large and false; her dress for a season; scent will change [...] Does she not know better than anyone ever did — and whether from folly or wisdom let us not inquire, sufficient is it that she agree with the sage — and does she not act as though she knew that all is vanity?[472]

According to Hutchinson in the citation above, women possess the ability to clothe themselves

[470] Flinders, Polly, "Femininities" *Vogue*, Early August 1924 p.43
[471] Woolf, Virginia, *Orlando: A Biography* [1928] (London: Wordsworth Classics, 1995) p.48
[472] Flinders, Polly, "Femininities", *Vogue*, Early August 1924 p.43

according to the fashionable demands of any particular historical moment, whilst simultaneously being aware that their consciousness, the centre of their being, is essentially unaffected by outward display. Presenting oneself in the revolutionary fashionable dress of the historical moment of the 1920s therefore, demonstrated the female's acceptance of changing fashion and changing cultures. Through this article Hutchinson presents herself as a lover of clothing who wishes to promote the idea that fashion — especially because of its newly found inter-relationship with other art forms —is not necessarily frivolous. Dressing in a contemporary style does not make a woman vain or unintelligent; on the contrary it reveals her capacity to transform into a modern, cultured "butterfly" and to be regarded as "civilized"[473] by onlookers. Hutchinson's ease with her reputation for being a "lady of fashion"[474] and her eagerness to encourage other women to demonstrate the same willingness to outwardly display progress, was not as easy for other modernist innovators to accept or achieve for themselves. This is particularly relevant in the case of Virginia Woolf, as the upcoming section of this chapter shall highlight. Mary Hutchinson possessed the abilities to dress well, effortlessly and with intent that Virginia Woolf craved to be able to do, but lacked the ability to believe she could:

> Virginia [...] I think of the pleasures of friendship [...] how delicious to begin such an adventure [...] what discoveries might I not make or what "spiritual changes" might you not start? Probably though, with that sharp twist you cannot resist, you will snap my threads; "put it into a book Flinders" you will say, so, cracking my heart; or "you know quite well you are a little popinjay of fashion" —so turning me crusty and uncomfortable. How will you answer me? Beware, beware, be very kind. [475]

Hutchinson and Woolf "developed a teasingly affectionate, semi erotic friendship [...] Virginia

[473] Bell, Clive, "Virginia Woolf" in *The Dial*, December 1924 p.65
[474] Anonymous, "So this is Polly Flinders..." *Vogue*, Late October 1924 p.58
[475] Hutchinson, Mary, "Letter to Virginia Woolf." Sourced from, Lee, Hermione, *Virginia Woolf* (London: Vintage, 1997) p.383

called her Weasel and Poll and Flinders [and] wrote her flirtatious notes."[476] One of the notes from Hutchinson to Woolf is cited above due to its revelations about Woolf's perceptions of Hutchinson's passion for fashion. Predominantly this mockery comes across in two noticeable ways. Firstly, through Hutchinson's imaginings of Woolf calling her a "popinjay of fashion". A popinjay — now somewhat of an archaic idiom— was a term used to insult someone as being vain or conceited. A person may also have been identified as a popinjay if their dress was somewhat more extravagant than that of other peoples. Secondly, Hutchinson references the soubriquet given to her by Woolf — "put it into a book, Flinders."[477]

The significance of the pseudonym "Polly Flinders" under which Mary Hutchinson penned her magazine articles is discussed in more detail in chapter five, but it is important to acknowledge here how the name is utilised mockingly by Woolf. In this letter, Hutchinson believes Woolf will "snap her threads" — her fashionable writings — because of her disapproval of them. Understanding the context of the name Polly Flinders as a nursery rhyme character, demonstrates the extent of Woolf's mockery. Woolf is suggesting that Hutchinson places too much importance upon the role of fashion in the lives of women. On consideration of Woolf's own tormented relationship to clothing, this teasing of Hutchinson reveals an innate jealousy, a fierce desire to be able to have a relationship with clothing such as Hutchinson's own. Woolf's contributions for *Vogue* came relatively late in the Todd editorship, whereas Mary Hutchinson had been involved since Todd's inception. Perhaps Woolf was motivated to write for *Vogue* by Hutchinson and perhaps she saw it as a way to work through her own sense of clothing self-consciousness. The exploration of Woolf's relationship with Hutchinson, with Todd and with *Vogue* reveals the depth of how the subject of clothing and fashion intrigued her.

[476] Lee, Hermione, *Virginia Woolf* (London: Vintage, 1997) p.383
[477] Hutchinson, Mary, "Letter to Virginia Woolf." Sourced from, Lee, Hermione, *Virginia Woolf* (London: Vintage, 1997) p.383

3.4 "Frock Consciousness"[478]: Virginia Woolf and *Vogue*

Virginia Wool's involvement with *Vogue* is one of the only areas of this period in the history of British *Vogue* magazine to have been considered academically. Scholars have either paid attention to Woolf's contributions in relation to the wider topic of modernism's often contradictory involvement with products of mass culture and the public sphere, or to Woolf's specific struggle with matters of fashionable dress and sexuality. Although these are indeed not only interesting but vital components to the history of modernism and of Woolf, I wish to present a different kind of case on the subject of Woolf and *Vogue*, this matter also being substantially influenced by Dorothy Todd.[479]

Lisa Cohen, in her essay, "Frock Consciousness": Virginia Woolf, the Open Secret, and the Language of Fashion,"[480] concludes by acknowledging how the personal relationship of Dorothy Todd and her lover Madge Garland[481] "helped incite Woolf's thinking about and thinking through clothes."[482] I wish to develop from this idea and argue that the opportunity to publish granted to Woolf by Todd's editorship of *Vogue,* stimulated an intense enquiry into what she herself termed, oxymoronically, as "frock consciousness."[483] Prior to 1921 there are no significant personal references to clothing in the diaries and letters of Woolf. This section of my thesis will consider three related areas concerning Woolf and her *Vogue* motivated reflections on clothing and fashion. Binding these three aspects together is the central assumption that it was *Vogue* — and therefore Todd — that motivated Woolf's growing preoccupation with matters of outer appearance. The American author and critic, Logan Pearsall Smith initially mocked Woolf about

[478] Bell, Ann Olivia, [ed.] Woolf, Virginia, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Penguin, 1977-84) p.12
[479] Woolf's relationship with Todd has also been considered by scholars writing of *Vogue* between 1922 and 1926, and also by myself in "Virginia Versus *Vogue*" at "The 21st Annual International Virginia Woolf Conference" Glasgow 2011.
[480] Cohen, Lisa, "Frock Consciousness": Virginia Woolf, the Open Secret, and the Language of Fashion" in *Fashion Theory: A Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Volume 3, Number 2 (London: Berg, 1999) pp. 149-174
[481] The relationship between Todd and Garland is considered in detail in chapter four of this thesis.
[482] Cohen, Lisa, "Frock Consciousness": Virginia Woolf, the Open Secret, and the Language of Fashion" in *Fashion Theory: A Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Volume 3, Number 2 (London: Berg, 1999) p.169
[483] Bell, Ann Olivia, [ed.] Woolf, Virginia, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Penguin, 1977-84) p.12

her involvement with a high fashion rather than high brow magazine: "I've been engaged in a great wrangle" wrote Woolf to Jacques Reverat during this debate with Pearsall Smith in January 1925:

> on the ethics of writing articles at high rates for fashion papers like *Vogue*. He says it demeans one. He says one must write only for the *Lit. Supplement* and the *Nation* and Robert Bridges and prestige and posterity and to set a high example. I say Bunkum.[484]

Woolf rebukes the narrow-minded pomposity of Pearsall Smith, by highlighting the potential for unrestricted creative and critical license offered by *Vogue's* pages. Woolf had herself experienced this liberated from of publishing for the first time in the issue of Late November 1924: "Todd lets you write what you like, and it's your own fault if you conform to the strays and petticoats."[485] The "Room of One's Own" Todd created from her pages — an enquiring, exploratory forum— is considered in detail in chapter five of this research, but Woolf's response to the ill informed jibes of Pearsall Smith is telling also for the purpose of this particular chapter. Todd's *Vogue* encouraged freedom of self-expression and the promotion of new ideas. Todd did not demand any of her personally commissioned articles to contain any detailed or obvious reference to clothing, trends or any other aspects of outward appearance that would have been expected in *Vogue's* recent past. Woolf took advantage of this allocated freedom and published a total of six articles for *Vogue* between 1924 and the end of Todd's tenure in 1926. None of these articles bear more than a veiled reference to fashion.

If Woolf was so interested and perplexed by clothing, why was it then that she did not choose to explore her fascinations — her intriguing explorations of "frock consciousness" — within *Vogue*?

[484] Nicolson, Nigel, [ed.], *The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III, 1923-1928 (London: Harcourt, 1989) p.154
[485] ibid. p.158

> I had planned such a trap for you — I did send one article to *Vogue*, but it was intended for *The Nation*, and just about to be printed, when Todd became clamorous, and rather than write specifically for her, I snatched it from Leonard, to his fury. And I hope you would detect signs of Todd and *Vogue* in every word.[486]

Woolf's cunning ploy to demonstrate her "real pearls"[487] of talent to Pearsall-Smith by writing a piece imbued with content similar to that expected of *Vogue,* but rewritten specifically for *The Nation,* is an attempt to demonstrate to Pearsall Smith that fashion based content does not necessarily mean content that is "vulgar" or "shameless" and the opposite of the "high-brow." To demonstrate the extent to which Woolf was not afraid to explore fashion in magazines which Pearsall Smith would deem as reputable, I wish to turn to the issue of *The Dial* of July 1923.[488] In this issue, Woolf's short story, "Mrs. Dalloway in Bond Street" first appeared. This short story which opened with the line: "Mrs. Dalloway said she would buy the gloves herself," mirrored the opening of her 1925 novel *Mrs Dalloway*[489] in every way except for the crucial difference in the commodity Clarissa intends to purchase. "Mrs. Dalloway in Bond Street" reveals much more than Clarissa's search for tailored gloves. Woolf examines the evolving nature of modern society in relation to clothing in this story. The submission of this clothing conscious piece by Woolf in *The Dial* reveals the same determination to include fashion as part of the artistic aesthetic of modernism as that demonstrated by Hutchinson and the publication of "Streets to Shop in" in *The Nation and Athenaeum* in 1923.

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[486] Nicolson, Nigel, [ed.] *The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III 1923-1928 (London: Harcourt, 1989) p.157

[487] Term taken from the letter to Logan Pearsall Smith of 28th January 1925 which states "Duncan's [Grant] argument is that if Bloomsbury has real pearls, they can be scattered anywhere without harm." Meaning that, talented artists and writers can display and publish their work anywhere without fear of reproach. ibid. p. 157

[488] Woolf did not confine her clothing based explorations to just one article, but published *Miss Ormerod* in *The Dial* in December 1924.

[489] Virginia Woolf's *Mrs Dalloway* was first published on 14th May 1925 and was created from two lesser known short stories, one of them being "Mrs. Dalloway in Bond Street" and the unfinished "The Prime Minister." *Mrs Dalloway* was originally drafted under the title *The Hours.*

Unlike Hutchinson, who published factual, although opinion based, critical commentaries for *Vogue* which often dealt in fashionable matters, Woolf used fiction to investigate her own fashion based thoughts. The choice of Woolf to use fiction as the form through which she could investigate and show her appreciation of the importance of clothing is telling. Her diaries reveal privately the confused state she found herself in when thinking about clothing. She considered herself outside of the "envelope"[490] which "connected"[491] and "protected"[492] those people she considered to be a part of "the fashion world."[493] Although she considered herself as a "foreign body" existing outside this "envelope," Woolf maintained an intense fascination with fashion: "these states are very difficult (obviously I grope for words) but I'm always coming back to it [...]. Still I cannot get what I mean."[494] By containing her experimental ruminations on fashion to works of fiction, such as "Mrs. Dalloway in Bond Street" and "The New Dress", Woolf protected herself from the potential mockery of the inner "envelope" of fashion observers. Madge Garland recalled retrospectively how Woolf "was interested in [clothes] and conscious of their importance,"[495] speaking omnisciently about the meaning of clothes as a spokesperson from fashion's inner sanctum. The explorations in fashion Woolf made outwardly upon her own body however, were not so easily contained and her experiments often aroused in her oxymoronic bouts of paranoia and fear or intense enjoyment:

> I am resigned to my station among the badly dressed, though Gravé [her dressmaker] & her vagaries, & the speeding up of my blue dress, & doubts as to its beauty scarcely seem to confirm that statement. [...] Why am I calm & indifferent as to what people say of *Night & Day*, & fretful for their good opinion of my blue dress?[496]

[490] Bell, Ann Olivia, [ed.] Woolf, Virginia, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Penguin, 1977-84) p 12-13
[491] ibid. p.12
[492] idem.
[493] idem.
[494] ibid. p.13
[495] Garland, Madge, cited in Russell Noble, Joan [ed.] *Recollections of Virginia Woolf,* (London: Peter Owen, 1972) p.171
[496] Bell, Ann Olivia, [ed.] Woolf, Virginia, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Penguin, 1977-84) p.284

The anxiety displayed in the above citation from Woolf's diary with regards to this new blue dress, is replaced by relief in the entry for the following evening: "Dinner last night at the Hutchinson's. Let me see, Praise of my dress — taken very philosophically."[497] Through this citation, it can be inferred that her new blue dress is not the only source of Woolf's anxiety. Hutchinson's own preoccupation with clothing and her reputation among others as an "exquisite lady of fashion"[498] places pressure on Woolf to present herself in an equally "exquisite" and fashionable way. The delight that Woolf records at the praise of her dress therefore, is elevated to the same value as praise of her literary work: "philosophically." This praise of Woolf's fashion sense by one who is considered part of the "envelope"[499] creates a positive determination in Woolf: "I know what I am going to do now: I am going to come down with both feet on this dress mania; this shyness; this tremendous susceptibility: & it is not so very difficult, once faced."[500] The involvement with people such as Garland,[501] Hutchinson and Todd made Woolf feel as if she were indeed "at the party."[502] Writing for *Vogue* moved her from observing from outside the parameters of the fashionable "envelope" to actively circulating within it. The peak of Woolf's inclusion in this well-dressed world came in 1926 and is best explained by first considering the below citation from Woolf's own diary:

> I am involved in dress buying with [Dorothy] Todd; I tremble & shiver all over at the appalling magnitude of the task I have undertaken — to go to a dressmaker recommended by Todd, even, she suggested, but here my blood ran cold, *with* Todd. Perhaps this excites me more feverishly than the Strike.[503]

[497] Bell, Ann Olivia, [ed.] Woolf, Virginia, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Penguin, 1977-84) p.230
[498] Bell, Clive, "Virginia Woolf" *The Dial*, December 1924 p.65
[499] Bell, Ann Olivia, [ed.] Woolf, Virginia, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Penguin, 1977-84) p.12
[500] ibid. p.229
[501] Woolf had asked Madge Garland to procure for her a dress made by Nicole Grout based on one the French couturier had made exclusively for Garland.
[502] Lee, Hermione, *Virginia Woolf* (London: Vintage, 1997) p.470
[503] Bell, Ann Olivia, [ed.] Woolf, Virginia, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Penguin, 1977-84) p.78

To Woolf, Todd was clearly an intriguing figure and one whom she considered fashionable. There are many twists and turns in the story of Woolf's relationship with Todd, but it is vital to acknowledge here the high esteem Woolf placed upon Todd not just as an editor of a fashion magazine but also as her route to further success, both in terms of publishing and in dress.

Woolf's diary entries from this time of involvement with *Vogue* also demonstrate how her preoccupations with both fashion and literature were becoming increasingly linked. The entry from May 1926 in which she acknowledges the pressure of going shopping with Todd also details her struggle in writing *Time Passes*. Later that month Virginia Woolf seems to define her feelings much more concisely: "This is what humiliates me [...] to walk in Regent St, Bond Str &c: & be notably less well dressed than other people."[504] and even admits to "a great lust for lovely stuffs."[505] Establishing her feelings regarding clothing during this time clearly had a positive effect upon Woolf's writing. At the end of the month of May, the first initial draft of *Time Passes* which had earlier troubled her as '"the most difficult abstract piece of writing,"[506] was completed to Woolf's satisfaction. The close proximity of the negative feeling of clothing and the negative feelings surrounding her literary work appear to be connected in Woolf's mind. Only when she achieves satisfaction with her appearance and acknowledges the importance of clothing, does Woolf's literary work also begin to flourish. In fact, it became increasingly common for Woolf's mind to "wander" during the *Vogue* years because of the "question of clothes."[507]

The connection between clothes and creativity for Woolf, and the members of modernist Bloomsbury is most adequately expressed through the example of the Omega workshops. When Woolf stated: "I like clothes if I can design them,"[508] she aptly summed up the intentions of those

[504] Bell, Ann Olivia, [ed.] Woolf, Virginia, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Penguin, 1977-84) p.75
[505] ibid. p.86
[506] ibid. p.76
[507] ibid. p.75
[508] ibid.p.146

involved with textiles within the Omega workshops. This creative venture was based on an idea of fashion design that was stimulated by: "an innovative attempt to negotiate the shifting boundaries between art and fashion, and between aesthetics and the market place, in Edwardian and wartime London."[509] The images below demonstrate the extent to which the printed materials which were used to create clothing incorporated the new innovations in art. These items which could be said to have existed as walking artistic canvases, reveal the heightened need for creativity in dress which had been initiated earlir by Paul Poiret. The instigators of the workshop — Vanessa Bell in particular — were starting to yearn for a more individual style of clothing that was otherwise only available through the couturiers that were featured in *Vogue*. "Woolf and Bell did not disregard the dictates of fashion, but used them to create a unique and artistic sartorial aesthetic"[510] comments Elizabeth Sheehan who has examined the creations of the Omega Workshops. Sheehan explains that Woolf offered her sister, Vanessa Bell patronage for her dress designing venture, as well as having frequently demanded sets of exclusively commissioned garments from the workshops. This example of the Omega Workshop's inclusion of fashion as part of its design ware is intended to demonstrate the extent of modernism's engagement with the fashion sphere and its willingness to integrate clothing design into their particular modernist aesthetic. This is the very same integration which Dorothy Todd's *Vogue* was also promoting.

3.5 What to Wear in the "Room of One's Own": Woolf's *Vogue* Portraits

The two portraits of Virginia Woolf which appeared in *Vogue* in 1924 and 1925 have received differing amounts of attention from scholars of Woolf. The first, of the Late May 1924

[509] Sheehan, Elizabeth M. 'Dressmaking at the Omega: Experiments in Art and Fashion' in *Beyond Bloomsbury: Designs of the Omega Workshops 1913 – 19,* (London: Courthauld Gallery, 2009) p.51
[510] ibid.


511

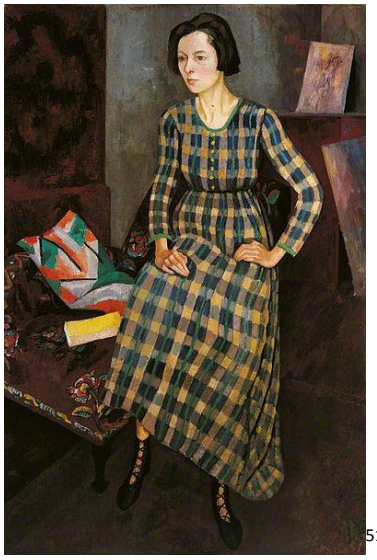
512


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Figure 61

issue, arousing the most curiousity because of Woolf's choice of dress, whereas the second, appearing a year later, remains comparatvely unexplored. The first image, taken by Maurice Beck and Helen Macgregor, accompanies the caption in praise of Woolf in *Vogue's* regular feature "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame." This feature, which included notable, innnovate, modern contributors across the arts and the sciences nominated Woolf

[511] Vanessa Bell in an Omega dress of her own design, 1915.
[512] Nina Hamnett painted by Roger Fry in 1917, wearing a dress designed by Vanessa Bell and made at the Omega. The shoes may also be from Omega and the cushion on the chair is covered with 'Maud' linen, also by Bell.
[513] Fry, Rodger, 1913, Cracow (Waistcoat) sourced from:
http://collections.vam.ac.uk/search/?listing_type=&offset=0&limit=15&narrow=&extrasearch=&q=omega&commit=Search&quality=0&objectnamesearch=&placesearch=&after=&after-adbc=AD&before=&before-adbc=AD&namesearch=&materialsearch=&mnsearch=&locationsearch=
accessed on 13th July 2013.
[514] Grant, Duncan, "Fan" 1913. ibid.

> because she is a publisher with a prose style; because she is a daughter of the late Sir Leslie Stephen and a sister of Vanessa Bell; because she is the author of *The Voyage Out* and *Jacob's Room*; because in the opinion of some of the best judges she is the most brilliant novelist of the younger generation; because she also writes admirable criticism; because with her husband she runs the Hogarth Press.[515]

The portrait, in which Woolf is overpowered by the frills, puffiness and startch of Victoriana, appears incompatible with the priase of Woolf as a writer of notoriety within the modern movement. The extent of this fascinating contradiction has been the centre of several academic enquiries. Nicola Luckhurst argues that "Woolf's choice of outfit [...] gives a sense of her ambiguous repsonse to the magazine,"[516] emphasissng what have been accepted as Woolf's often contradictory feelings with regards to writing for a fashion magazine. Hermione Lee acclaims Woolf as "looking ravishing"[517] yet "curious"[518] in this austere gown and Gill Lowe comments that the dress "is too big for her, she looks angular and awkward. She is like a child dressing up in unsuitably stifling black attire"[519] but also that her choice to wear a gown having reputedly belonged to her mother[520] marked a "physical need to be intimate to her mother."[521] This is a view that seems to be shared by Claire Nicolson[522] who draws upon Woolf's diary entries to highlight the significance of the date of this photogrphic shoot. Nicolson estimates that the picture must have been taken sometime in early May in order to have appeared in the issue of Late May. She states that Julia Stephen, Woolf's mother, died on the 5th May 1895, and that therefore the time of the picture would mark the twenty-ninth anniversary of her mother's death

[515] Anonymous, "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame", *Vogue*, Late May 1924 p.49
[516] Luckhurst, Nicola, *Bloomsbury In Vogue* (London: Bloomsbury Heritage Series by Cecil Woolf,1998) p.4
[517] Lee, Hermione, *Virginia Woolf* (London: Vintage, 1997) p.70
[518] ibid. p.48
[519] Lowe, Gill, *Versions of Julia* (London: Bloomsbury Heritage Series by Cecil Woolf, 2006) p.47
[520] "It was normal practice for middle class families in Victorian England to keep significant or expensive items of dress after the death of a family member, either for sentimental or more practical reasons." Sourced from:
Nicolson, Claire, *"In Woolf's Clothing": An Exploration of Clothes and Fashion in Virginia Woolf's Fiction* PhD Thesis, Anglia Ruskin University, 2013
[521] Lowe, Gill, *Versions of Julia* (London: Bloomsbury Heritage Series by Cecil Woolf, 2006) p.47
[522] Nicolson, Claire, *"In Woolf's Clothing": An Exploration of Clothes and Fashion in Virginia Woolf's Fiction* PhD Thesis, Anglia Ruskin University, 2013

from heart failure. The influence of Julia Stehen is also central to Jane Garrity's attempts at explaining Woolf's choice of dress for the first *Vogue* portrait:

> the author's diary reveals that the photographers may have been attempting to invoke the fact that the studio in which the setting was staged was built by a sculptor who had wooed, and been spurned by her mother.[523]

This sculptor was one Thomas Woolner and Woolf indeed does dwell on this association as part of her broader considerations of her mother as a fantasmatic[524] figure: "I have been sitting to *Vogue*, the Becks that is, in their mews, which Mr. Woolner built as his studio, and perhaps it was there he thought of my mother, whom he wished to marry."[525] The drawing upon Woolf's "literal and ancestral pedigree"[526] in *Vogue* through the printing of this particular portrait also alludes retrospectovely to a portrait of Woolf's mother, by her great Aunt Julia Margaret Cameron, which was curiously reproduced in *Vogue* in Early December 1926. "The manipulated image of Woolf — her frilly collared dark dress, introspective mood, and the downcast direction of her abstracted gaze — duplicates almost verbatim the iconc image of her mother"[527] Garrity observes. But why the repeated references to Woolf's past? I beleive that the answer to this, and the question of why Woolf was attired in her mother's dress, has to do with the importance of history in *Vogue*. Chapter two revealed a modernist "obsession"[528] with history and *Vogue's* publishing of material which referenced ages past. Allowing Woolf to be photographed in a Victorian gown, does not, as Luckhurst argues, reveal an open rebellion against the magazine, but rather the promotion of its

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[523] Garrity, Jane, "Virginia Woolf, Intellectual Harlotry, and 1920's British *Vogue" in* Caughie, Pamela [ed.] *Virginia Woolf in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (London: Routledge, 2013) p.79

[524] Fantasmatic Mother "that is, a mother who can exist only as an image, who can be seen or mirrored only in identifications and who might incite the visual imagination (of a photographer) into significations." Humm, Maggie, "Virginia Woolf, Vanessa Bell, The Maternal and Photography" *Studies in the Maternal* Volume 2, Issue 1, 2010
Sourced from: http://www.mamsie.bbk.ac.uk/back_issues/issue_three/documents/humm.pdf
accessed on 12th January 2014

[525] Bell, Ann Olivia, [ed.] Woolf, Virginia, *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Penguin, 1977-84) p.12

[526] Garrity, Jane, "Virginia Woolf, Intellectual Harlotry, and 1920's British *Vogue" in* Caughie, Pamela [ed.] *Virginia Woolf in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (London: Routledge, 2013) p.79

[527] ibid.

[528] Rainey*, Lawrence, Revisiting "The Waste Land"* (Yale: Yale University Press, 2007) p.71

529

Figure 62

[529] Virginia Woolf taken in 1923, printed in *Vogue* in the issue of Late May 1924 and re-used in the issue of Early May 1926, alongside her article on Walter Raleigh, "A Professor for Life" This is the only article by Woolf which is accompanied by her image.

 [530]

Figure 63

ideals. The portrait of Woolf in an anachronistic gown, expresses *Vogue's* beleif in acknowledging the effect of the past upon the present. It signals the importance of remembering the context for our current positions, the foundations for our developments and the need for continual progress. I wish to contend further and initialise an entirely new strand of thought regarding the effect of this image alongside the second published photograph of Woolf in 1925. Standing a full year apart — a year which was full of contemplation and consideration about clothing for Woolf in which she deened to investigate "party consciousness, the frock consciousness"[531] — the second *Vogue* portrait displays the change in the way Woolf wished to present herelf. In the space of a year, Woolf had made the transistion from presenting herself in sentimental misfitting Victoriana to promoting herself confidently as a professional, tailored modiste.

[530] Virginia Woolf taken in 1923 at the Beck and Macgregor studio as part of the Late May 1924 *Vogue* feature.
[531] Woolf, Virginia as cited in Cohen, Lisa, "Frock Consciousness": Virginia Woolf, the Open Secret, and the Language of Fashion" in *Fashion Theory: A Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Volume 3, Number 2 (London: Berg, 1999) p.149

 [532]

Figure 64

By the time Woolf sat for her second *Vogue* portrait at the Beck and Macgregor studio in 1926, her ruminations on the subject of clothing had reached a zenith. Woolf had gone beyond simply considering fashion as an interesting topic, to fully crtiquing her own relationship to clothing and its effect upon her own body. But just how dramatic was the extent of this change? I have already identified the anachronistic Victoriana Woolf dressed hereself in for the first portrait in 1925, but the second *Vogue* porrait stands as the exact antithesis of the first image. In the issue of Late May 1926 Woolf appears as the very depiction of the 1920s female. The image shows Woolf apparrelled in a tailored — presumably two-piece— suit of relaxed jersey, itself reminscient of the designs instigated by Chanel. Woolf's hair is also noticably more styled. The unconsidered

[532] Margaret Cameron, Julia, "Julia Stephen" as printed in *Vogue*, Early December 1926. In her PhD dissertation *Virginia Woolf's Legacies from Three Nineteenth-Century Forebears*, Marion Dell proposes an interesting argument which questions the evidence for attributing ownership of this dress to Julia Stephen. She notes there is no clear documentary evidence to identify the dress as Julia's. Sourced from: Nicolson, Claire, *"In Woolf's Clothing":An Exploration of Clothes and Fashion in Virginia Woolf's Fiction* PhD Thesis, Anglia Ruskin University, 2013

cut of the 1924 portrait is replaced by a stlye more akin to that of the era: short with relaxed shingled waves, purposefully framing the face. In the 1924 portrait, Woolf's decolletage is distinctly bare, but nonetheless dominated by the lace frills of the collar of her Mother's dress. In 1925 Woolf accessorizes, donning a modern string of coloured beads in accodrance to Chanel's application and appreciation of costume jewellery. The background of this portrait incites elements of modernist Orientalism with the exotic flower and bird print. These choices of setting make the scene appear vibrant in contrast to the dull nothingness of the 1924 portait. The final element of this portrait which I wish to highlight is the text which it accompanies. The caption from Woolf's appearance in "We Nominate For the Hall of Fame" of the Late May 1924 issue drew upon Woolf's ancestry and acclamimed her as "the most brilliant novelist of the younger generation."[533] The second portrait however, accompanies Edwin Muir's review of Woolf's first collection of critical essays: *The Common Reader.* In this review Muir praises Woolf as being "one of the most distinguished novelists [and] finest critics of our time [whose] work is obviously of permanent interest."[534] The difference in the praise offered to Woolf here is no longer based on her familial pedigree, nor upon the shared buisness with her husband, nor solely upon her work as part of the "younger generation" of writers. Muir accredits her as of lasting importance and interest. I wish to place some emphasis upon the word "permanent" which Muir utilises in appraisal of Woolf. Woolf's writings may have been new, innovative and sometimes disliked, but certain audiences had the capacity to foresee that this innovation would continue to be not only appreciated in the future, but valued as having played an influential role in the development of literature. I beleive the choice of clothing and setting for the second *Vogue* portrait complements Muir's message in this particular article. Fashion is far from a permanent mode; changing —as Mortimer noted —"with an ever increasing ferocity."[535] But the designers I have highlighted above, with their new and liberating designs, abruptly heralded the end of the centuries which

[533] Anonymous, "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame" *Vogue*, Late May 1924 p.49
[534] Muir, Edwin, "Three New Books" *Vogue*, Late May 1925 p.63
[535] Mortimer, Raymond, "The Fashions of the Mind" *Vogue*, Early February 1924 p.49

 [536]

Figure 65

[536] Virginia Woolf in *Vogue*, Late May 1925

had confined women's bodies in corsets and had a permanent influence over fashion's future. The example provided by the two Woolf portraits and the distinct differences between them highlight, I beleive, the intended integration of fashion with modernism which Dorothy Todd was promoting in the pages of her *Vogue*.

3.6 Chapter Conclusion

"More and more do I become in a state of undress. I beleive this affects my writing or is it the other way about?"[537] As Cohen has explained, Woolf does not literally here refer to herself as becoming unclothed —"she meant casual dress, not nakedness"[538] — but instead is emphasising the freedom womens bodies were increasingly experiencing through the relative freedom of 1920s fashions in dress. The liberation from corsets and other hefty overwhelming materials which had previously bound the female form, must have initially felt like wearing nothing at all for women. These women had previously been bound by tight fabric prisons which forced their bodies into unrealistic shapes and which had forced them to exist in a permanent state that was "not so much dressed as cased."[539] Woolf makes the observation about feeling "undressed" after an evening out and also observed how, "the atmosphere [was] easy and pleasant; the dinner most modest, solid & somehow in keeping with our clothes."[540] This ambiance of comfort is reinforced by the increasingly "casual" comfort of women's clothing, and reveals exactly what Woolf defined as "frock consciousness." In Chapter four of *Orlando*, published in 1928, Woolf wrote: "Vain trifles as they seem, clothes have, they say, more important offices than to merely keep us warm. They change our view of the world and the world's view of us."[541] The quotation

[537] Woolf, Virginia, cited in Cohen, Lisa, "Frock Consciousness": Virginia Woolf, the Open Secret, and the Language of Fashion" in *Fashion Theory: A Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Volume 3, Number 2 (London: Berg, 1999) p.162
[538] ibid.p.152
[539] Woolf, Virginia, "The New Dress" [1928] in Dick, Susan [ed.] *The Complete Shorter Fiction of Virginia Woolf,* (London: Harcourt Publishers Ltd, 1989) p.215
[540] Cohen, Lisa, "Frock Consciousness": Virginia Woolf, the Open Secret, and the Language of Fashion" in *Fashion Theory: A Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Volume 3, Number 2 (London: Berg, 1999) p.152
[541] Woolf, Virginia, *Selected Works of Virginia Woolf*, (London: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 2007) p.490

from her diary and the narrative voice in *Orlando* both express the same poignant central message of Mortimer's article which was examined above. By losing underlayers which have been acknowledged as having been restrictive on the respiratiory system, and instead being granted the ability to don clothing that was suitable for increased mobility and leisurely pursuits, fashion offered women the potential for increased freedom, and this correspondingly had the effect of empowering women. This figurative "state of undress" explains Woolf's increased consciousness regarding clothing, She no longer considered it as a form of female repression, a method of confining women to the frivilous sphere of commerical capitalism, but a mode through which she and other likeminded women could express themselves in much the same way as they could express themselves through the arts. "[Woolf] uses frocks not to represent character itself, but to think about the modernist problem of how to represent character"[542] observes Cohen, and it is exactly this problem which Mortimer, and Todd's *Vogue* was concerned with. This "problem" was specificially the case in terms of *Vogue's* clothing content, bound to "our view of the world and the world's view of us."[543] The examples of the two Woolf portraits therefore, reveal the necessary need for development from the past and the connection between the outer presentation of the body and the inner consciousness of the individual. The overhaul in Woolf's appearance that is confidently on display in 1926 revealed simultaneously what women could be wearing in the room of their own[544] and how a modern presentation of the body also revealed an acceptance of modern attitudes and culture in the mind.

[542] Cohen, Lisa, "Frock Consciousness": Virginia Woolf, the Open Secret, and the Language of Fashion" in *Fashion Theory: A Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Volume 3, Number 2 (London: Berg, 1999) p.150
[543] Woolf, Virginia, *Selected Works of Virginia Woolf* (London: Wordsworth Editions Limited, 2007) p.490
[544] Cohen, Lisa, "Frock Consciousness": Virginia Woolf, the Open Secret, and the Language of Fashion" in *Fashion Theory: A Journal of Dress, Body and Culture* Volume 3, Number 2 (London: Berg, 1999) p.150

Chapter Four

"Modernism's Other"[545]: *Vogue*'s Lost Editor.


[546]

Figure 66

[545] The title of this chapter draws on the seminal "Mass Culture as Woman: Modernism's Other" in Huyssen, Andreas, *After the Great Divide, Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1986)
[546] Van Gogh, Vincent (1888-1889) *L'Arl*ésienne.
Sourced from: http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/51.112.3

4.1 "Who Need Never Be Mentioned"[547]: Chapter Introduction

Every paper has its [...] unrecognised inventors, its authors of unpublishable [sic] articles.[548]

The painting which decorates the title page to this chapter is Van Gogh's second version of *L'Arlésienne*.[549] When I first came across this portrait, in an issue of *The Dial*, I was struck by its semblance to the vivid depiction of Dorothy Todd I had been forced to create in my mind due to the then lack of any photographic image. This impression was made even more significant by the meaning of the word *L'Arlésienne,* which revolves around the notion of an unseen character: "someone or something one speaks about or thinks about all the time, yet one never actually sees or meets the person or object in person.[550] After discovering this image and coming to understand the meaning of its title, Dorothy — or Dody as she was known by her friends and intimates — Todd, became my very own *L'Arlésienne.* Like Todd, Van Gogh's subject is defined by her books, her reflective expression, her features and her fashion. This chapter will consider these very elements and how they combined to reveal what I now know about the woman who "transformed *Vogue* from just another fashion paper to being the best of fashion papers and a guide to the modern movement in the arts."[551]

[547] Stein, Gertrude, *A Novel of Thank You* [1958] (Illinois: Dalkey Archive, 2004) p.13
[548] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.19
[549] "While in Arles, Van Gogh painted two very similar portraits of Marie Ginoux, the proprietress of the Café de la Gare, wearing the regional costume of the legendary dark-haired beauties of Arles. The first version, which he described in a letter of November 1888 as "an Arlésienne, knocked off in *one* hour," must be the more thinly and summarily executed portrait in the Musée d'Orsay, Paris. In it a parasol and gloves lie on the table instead of books. This portrait belonged to the sitter until she sold it in 1895."
Sourced from : http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/works-of-art/51.112.3
accessed on 9th October 2010.
[550] Sourced from: http://www.linternaute.com/dictionnaire/fr/definition/l-arlesienne/
accessed on 9th October 2010
[551] West, Rebecca, cited in Russell-Noble, J. [ed.*] Recollections of Virginia Woolf* (London: Peter Owen, 1972) p.90

Dorothy Todd, whom *Vogue* contributor, Dadie Rylands once described as "having some kind of genius,"[552] is an imperative component to an understanding of *Vogue* between 1922 and 1926. During these years Todd became for the magazine what the slim silhouette was for the1920s. Despite having defined this era in the glamorous history of the magazine, Todd has remained an enigma; absent from the pages of glossy commercial histories designed for the contemporary worshipper of the *Vogue* cult, and a silent sideliner in more academic enquiries related to other modernist writers. My research has always been motivated by the desire to highlight Todd's impact upon British *Vogue* and thus to bring her onto centre stage: to enable her to share the spotlight of enquiry which academics are increasingly shining upon the era of the modernist magazines. Thus far, my thesis has considered how Todd injected elements of modernist culture alongside the elements of haute couture fashion which *Vogue* readers had come to expect. This chapter, however, aims to consider the lady herself and what I have found out about her. This chapter will seek to venerate the "great editor"[553] behind British *Vogue* during the 1920s. Todd left no biography, no real friends and no money behind her when she died. Memories had been concealed, her words disregarded and her name not mentioned during the latter years of her life. She did however, leave one legacy which will forever remain inerasable. Those pages of *Vogue* between 1922 and 1926 are a relic to Todd's innovative vision. This chapter, in its amalgamation of both the facts and speculations surrounding the enigmatic Todd, will reveal that it was her persona and passion that created the issues of *Vogue* during this time.

In his 1992 novel, *La Sanglière*,[554] Todd's grandson, Olivier, is able to recreate the *Vogue* years of his beloved grandmother through the treasure trove full of letters, photographs, documentation and personal reflections Dody left behind after her death. Sadly, this part of Olivier's semi-factual novel is fictional. The complete lack of information surrounding Todd's time

[552] Rylands, Dadie cited in Luckhurst, Nicola, *Bloomsbury in Vogue* (London: Cecil Woolf, Bloomsbury Heritage Series, 1998) p.4
[553] West, Rebecca, cited in Russell-Noble, J. [ed.] *Recollections of Virginia Woolf* (London: Peter Owen, 1972) p.90
[554] Todd, Olivier *La Sanglière* (Paris: Grasset, 1992)

at *Vogue* is clearly a matter of frustration for Olivier, who was more than aware of the interest his grandmother's life would arouse:

> I encouraged her to write her memoirs. As editor of *Vogue* she had known a lot of interesting people: she used to claim that Aldous Huxley in his youth had been her secretary, and she could talk so well about the men and women who had made up the great age of Bloomsbury. She seemed to have been on intimate terms with all the brilliant, bitchy, personalities of her literary world. The more homosexual they were, the more formidable they sounded, at least in Dody's stories. 'Perhaps I'll put it all down one day, but first I want to finish something else, it's very important, very important'.[555]

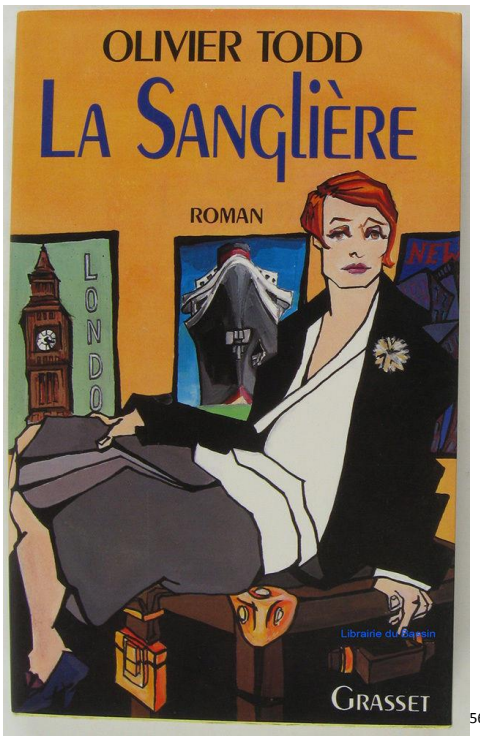
The persistent encouragement of Olivier for his grandmother to document her life, and the flippancy of her replies is mirrored by the shared attempts of Virginia Woolf, who also appreciated this formidable woman's impact upon periodical culture and the dissemination of the modernist ethos in general. On the 9th June 1926 after a party hosted by Edith Sitwell and attended by a veritable feast of Bloomsbury "pearls," Woolf wrote in her diary how she "proposed, wildly, fantastically, a book"[556] to Todd who was also a guest at this party. Todd's reply of vague acceptance mirrors the response given to her grandson some twenty years later. Writing to her sister, Vanessa Bell shortly following the soirée, Woolf states how Todd informed her of the "passages of inconceivable squalor"[557] that would decorate such a life story. These details, which Anne Pender[558] could not identify, are outlined as thoroughly as currently possible in the upcoming sections of this chapter. Given the intrigue surrounding Todd's character and colourful

[555] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.133
[556] Bell, Ann Olivia & McNeillie, A [eds.] *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1975-1982) p.89
[557] Nicholson, Nigel [ed.] *A Change of Perspective: The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1977) p.270
[558] Pender, Anne, "'Modernist Madonnas'; Dorothy Todd, Madge Garland and Virginia Woolf" in *Women's History Review,* Volume 16, Number 4 (London: Routledge, 2007) pp.519-533

past it is perhaps poignant that it was during her *Vogue* years, that Woolf became a staunch promoter of the literary form of the biography / autobiography: "very few women yet have written truthful autobiographies. It is my favourite form of reading."[559] Woolf was propelled to promote her female friends and creative colleagues to put pen to paper and write their lives as a

[560]

Figure 67



[561]

Figure 68

matter of urgency in order to aid the diminishing of "the inhibitions and censorships of women's life writing."[562] An urgency that Todd, obviously did not reciprocate, choosing to encourage instead a freedom in the publication of creative and critical writings within the pages of her *Vogue.*

[559] Woolf, Virginia cited in Lee, Hermione, *Virginia Woolf* (London: Vintage Books, 1999) p.13

[560] Front cover of Olivier Todd's *La Sanglière* which details a female figure examining items of jewellery which have been produced from an Oriental style chest. This figure, with Eton cropped hair and references to high fashion can be interpreted to represent Dorothy Todd. Image: author's own.

[561] Front cover of Olivier Todd's *La Sanglière* which details a female figure, which I believe represents Dorothy Todd. The smart office wear which recalls the 1920s, the Eton cropped hairstyle and most glaringly, the carnation in the button hole point to this being Todd's grandmother. It is interesting that the background of this image reveals a postcard of London and the famous avant-garde advertisement for the Normandie Transatlantique by Cassandre (pseudonym for Adolphe Jean-Marie Mouron. Sourced from, Robinson, Michael & Orminston, Rosalind, *Art Deco: The Golden Age of Graphic Art and Illustration* (London: Flame Tree Publishing, 2008) Image: author's own.

[562] Woolf, Virginia cited in Lee, Hermione, *Virginia Woolf* (London: Vintage Books, 1999) p.13

In *The Critic as Artist,*[563] Oscar Wilde, through the character of Gilbert identifies biographers as "second rate litterateurs."[564] Alluding to the figure of the undertaker, Gilbert scathingly reports how biographical writers are no more than mere "body-snatchers" to whom the soul of the person they write of is "out of reach."[565] This may seem like an odd reference alongside the encouraging promotion of biographical forms by Woolf, but this chapter really seeks to understand Dorothy Todd in a way which has not been previously possible. In articles and books which have considered this period in *Vogue's* history, Todd is established as a woman of some interest but has never been the sole focus. No enquirer has ever really sought to understand her in terms of what motivated her and what flamed her passions. For this reason, I wish to explore and speculate beyond the skeletal fragments —the "dust"[566] and the "ashes"[567] that Wilde's Gilbert accredits as the only parts of a life attainable to the biographer — in an attempt truly to find *Vogue's* lost editor and understand more thoroughly the version of *Vogue* which she created.

4.2 "Keeping Up The Fiction"[568]: Who Was Dorothy Todd?

Christopher William, Dorothy Todd's father, was born on the 30th January 1831 in Chelsea, London to Phoebe and George Todd. His father was a bricklayer before becoming involved in property development in the rapidly expanding demands created by population growth in mid-Victorian London. Christopher trained as an apprentice carpenter and thus was undoubtedly of much use to his father in the family business which was steadily prospering. Records show that Christopher was married to Westminster born Charlotte Middleton in 1854. By this time, Christopher had become a "wealthy developer who owned real estate all over London,

[563] Wilde, Oscar, *The Critic as Artist (Upon the Importance of Doing Nothing and Discussing Everything)* Moore, Andrew [ed.] (London: Moondial,2007)
[564] ibid. p.6
[565] idem.
[566] idem.
[567] idem.
[568] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.23

much of it utilitarian, cheaply built housing in Chelsea."[569] Between 1861 and 1870,[570] Christopher and Charlotte had eight children, one of whom, Ralph, went on to become an exhibiting painter. Charlotte Todd died in Wandsworth, aged just forty-four on 26th September 1877. Aged fifty in October 1881, Christopher remarried. Ruthella Hetherington, a butchers daughter from Carlisle, was twenty-six years younger than Christopher and her move to London— wed to a by now very wealthy property magnate —offered her the life of a "pampered Edwardian lady"[571] that she became dependent on. After a short stay in Streatham, the couple, now accompanied by two children, moved into one of Christopher's grand new properties along the newly developed Cromwell Road in the London Borough of Kensington and Chelsea. From this point onwards, the biographical history of the Todd family develops into "a wasps nest of the most unpleasant character."[572]



[573]

Figure 69

[569] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.242

[570] "At the junction of Bolingbroke Grove and Battersea Rise, Buckmaster Road **and** Auckland Road**,** were an early development (1863) by Christopher Todd and John Lane, assisted by the noted sanitary engineer, Thomas Crapper, who was responsible for the excellent houses with semicircular bays ay 8-10 Buckmaster Road. The smaller houses too are interesting, in that they anticipate the standard two-and-a-half storey, double bay house design of the 1880s by some 15 years, and those in Auckland Road have an unusual sawtooth roof profile."
Sourced from: http://www.courtenay.co.uk/Content/About-Us/Area-Guides/Between-the-Commons.aspx
accessed on 4th January 2014.

[571] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.242

[572] Garland, Madge, cited in Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.242

[573] "Ralph Todd was a popular figure amongst the Newlyn School painters, but he frequently struggled with his work and his friend Stanhope Forbes's letters often refer to him as 'Poor Todd', because of his difficulties both with painting and with money. He primarily worked in watercolours, but was also competent in oils."
Sourced from: http://www.penleehouse.org.uk/artists/ralph-todd.html#35_ToddRalphWomanbyaTree.jpg
accessed on 10th May 2014

Christopher and Ruthella's first child was born on May 1st 1883 in Kensington and was named Dorothy Elsie Frances Todd. We know very little of her childhood except for the fact that she "was well educated by the standards of the day for a girl. She said that she had run away from home as a child and returned only on the condition that she be allowed a tutor in Latin and Greek, and she learned at least enough of the classics to be able to quote some of them in later life."[574]

 [575]

Figure 70

One imagines the young Dorothy Todd as bookish, inquisitive and creative. Dorothy was two years of age when the Todd's had their second child, a boy, named Alfred Guy Eric. Records from personal collections detail how the Todd family spent "six months of every year on a yacht in the South of France,"[576] explaining Dorothy's later love for the region and her ease with speaking French. Details from the 1891 federal census list the affluent Todd family as residing in Eastbourne as boarders in the house of the Neidermayer family. The large family listed under this name also includes Ernest Neidermayer who would appear to be Earnest Todd, the fourth child from Christopher's first marriage. Electoral registers also cite the Todd family as maintaining ownership of the house at 105 Cromwell Road, so it is probable that their residence in Eastbourne

[574] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.243
[575] Present day photograph of the houses of the start of Cromwell Road, South Kensington, opposite the Natural History Museum. These houses are exemplars of the type Dorothy Todd and her family would have lived in. Image: author's own.
[576] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.242

was a temporary excursion to pay a visit to one of Christopher's other children. On 16th June 1892, aged sixty-two Christopher died of a sudden heart attack. After Todd's death the family, which had once been so economically comfortable, intellectually curious and keen on travel, fell apart. The extent of the devastation the family experienced can be viewed from consideration of Dorothy Todd's own sad reminiscences: "All that belonged to us once upon a time," she'd ruminated on one melancholy evening in later life, gesturing to the Cromwell Road. From 1892 onwards, the story of Dorothy's life becomes one that is dominated by "debility and lies that reverberated through generations"[577] and emotionally disturbed Dorothy until her own tragic end.

The death of Christopher was the impetus for the demise of the Todd family. Christopher's last will and testament left his assets in the hands of his wife, Ruthella and consisted of "£33,000, plus stocks, property, and other assets [held] in trust for his children from both marriages."[578] Cohen flippantly accuses Ruthella of always having been plagued by an addiction to gambling and alcohol but there really is little to prove that accusation and the domestic stability of the family prior to Christopher's death strongly suggests otherwise. What is true is that:

> Ruthella squandered the vast sum Christopher left. [..] She had become [...] an alcoholic and a gambler, and she periodically found herself broke and stranded at casinos around Europe, requiring rescue by friends or the family solicitor, who would travel out to Monte Carlo to pay her debts and bring her back. [Dorothy] spent much of her childhood accompanying her mother to those exclusive gaming places.[579]

[577] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.242
[578] ibid. p.243
[579] ibid. p.242

While Dorothy was travelling with her mother, her brother Eric attended Eton, before he was enlisted in the army in 1914. At some point during these tumultuous times, Dorothy was named as owner of the house at 105 Cromwell Road, which remained as the only surviving asset set aside by her father which had not been seized by bailiffs in payment of her mother's debts.

There is very little information available between Christopher's death in 1892 and the year 1905. In Paris, in October of this poignant year for the Todds, a baby—initially named Dorothy — was born. This baby became a subject of intrigue, fascination, mystery, disruption, debate and was the dominating secret of Dorothy's life. The registration of the birth of this baby was made at the "mairie of the Sixteenth Arrondisement"[580] by two witnesses. These witnesses were Ruthella Todd and Joseph[581] Lukach who identified the child as Helen Thompson: "fille de père et mère non dénommmés."[582] In April the following year, this baby was baptized in London. The baptism document officially names her as "Dorothy Helen Todd," and listed Alfred — Ruthella's son — as her godfather and a twenty-two year old Dorothy as her mother. On this certificate there is no mention of the identity of the baby's father. This knowledge is something which Dorothy never divulged and the identity of Dorothy Helen's father remains unknown. To her friends, to her lover Madge Garland and even detrimentally to the child herself, Dorothy explained that Helen was the daughter of her brother Alfred, who was killed in action in April 1917 at the Arras offensive,[583] and called Helen her niece.

Many of the speculations surrounding the parentage of Helen Todd unsurprisingly come from Helen herself and her own 'enfant naturel,' Olivier. These speculations, as Cohen has shown,

[580] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.244
[581] Cohen identifies this man as Harry Lukach. However, Lukach Junior was named Harry and studied at Eton with Alfred Todd. It is more passable therefore that the elder Lukach, Joseph, would have been the one to have registered the birth with Ruthella.
[582] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.244
[583] ibid. As Cohen ponders, it is not known how the Todd family explained this parentage to the young Helen in the 12 years before Alfred's death in combat.

revolve around the character of Joseph Lukach, who was "almost certainly Ruthella's lover."[584] Born in Detroit, Michigan, United States on 15th August 1856, Joseph Lukach[585] spent a large amount of time in London because of the nature of his business. *The London Gazette* acknowledges Joseph Harry Lukach as being a "Liquidator"[586] and his passport application of May 1893, declared him to be "following the occupation of Insurance."[587] Despite his American origins, Lukach was baptized in Westminster, London in 1884, his children attended Eton alongside Alfred Todd, and they fought for the British army in the First World War. Lukach, was married to Eugine Bertha Caroline from Vienna with whom he had a son, Harry Charles and a daughter named Maud Dorothy Elizabeth in 1888, both of whom were born in London. Cohen reports how the Luckach and Todd families were friends and lived in close proximity to each other in both Eastbourne and in Kensington. I have only found records for the latter, detailing Lukach as living alone at 31 Emperor's Gate — a mere two minute walk from the Todd's grand abode at 105 Cromwell Road. Lukach is also listed in the census of 1901 as living in Hanover Square. Dorothy and Ruthella are listed as living in Hanover Square in records from 1907, 1908 and 1909. Presenting the speculations of Helen Todd, Cohen states:

> In 1915, a public trust was set up for Helen and Dody; money from this fund materialized provided by Lukach. [...] Helen believed that Dody had enticed Lukach away from Ruthella, and that he was her father. [...] Olivier Todd believes Lukach may have molested Dorothy.[588]

[584] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.245
[585] Americanized spelling of the surname is derived from the Hungarian spelling of "Lukacs."
[586] Sourced from: www.london-gazette.co.uk/issues/26750/pages/3594/page.pdf
accessed on 12th March 2014
[587] 11th May 1893, *U.S Passport Applications, 1795-1925*, Record Number 1505.
Sourced from: www.ancestry.co.uk
accessed on 2nd March 2014
[588] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.245

 [589]

Figure 71

With the object of affirming my identity with the Country of my allegiance, and in order to avert possible misconception on the part of those unacquainted with my family history, I have decided to change the spelling of my name from Lukach to Luke.

J. H. LUKE.

ST. JAMES'S CLUB, LONDON. *1st May, 1919.* [590]

Figure 72

[589] Image sourced from:
http://trees.ancestry.co.uk/tree/13216963/person/-91427490/photox/3fde1d12-f5e5-415c-9ec7-28b8c52a9b7d?src=search
accessed on 2nd March 2014

[590] On 1st May, 1919, Lukach officially changed his name to Luke.
Sourced from: www.ancestry.co.uk
accessed on 2nd March 2013.

Olivier is a further source of information, offering speculations regarding his grandfather. "I am almost certain," he writes in his semi-autobiographical novel, *The Year of the Crab*

> of being three quarters Jewish, quite sure of being half Jewish. Since according to Maman, despite Dody's evasive answers, my paternal grandfather was Jewish too.[591][...] Maman and I think Dody made love with a man once and only once.[592]

Both Olivier and Cohen seem to suggest that the nature in which Helen was possibly conceived explains the complex and tangled opinion Dorothy had of her daughter throughout her life and essentially why she chose to hide her real identity from her.[593] Although Helen herself wondered why "Dody, who wasn't particularly fond of children [would] have adopted a niece,"[594] it is clear that Dorothy was determined to provide for her daughter. Olivier Todd reports how "Dody gave [Helen] a very good allowance, all the money she needed"[595] and encouraged her further education — Helen was admitted to Somerville College, Oxford in 1924. On her travels between New York and London, Dorothy would also often be accompanied by Helen. One exception to this occurred in 1914 — presumably the year Todd first approached the New York *Vogue* for work — when the nine year old child was left with Ruthella. Helen reports that her grandmother, who had once been a great friend of Winston Churchill's mother, forced her to "become accustomed to drunkenness from an early age."[596] The dysfunctional nature of Dorothy's home life after the death of her father — the absence of her brother, the gambling and drunkenness of her mother, the financial strain and Ruthella's involvement with many London based businessmen — were not conducive to stability. Cohen views this disruption as the cause of Ruthella's inability to protect her only daughter from the advances of Harry Lukach. Like many other parts of the Todd story,

[591] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.60
[592] ibid. p.23
[593] At the time of Helen's birth there would have been a considerable amount of shame in conceiving a child out of wedlock as well as an ever present stigma of bearing a child illegitimately.
[594] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.245
[595] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.265
[596] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.245

the answer will never be found. "For her part Dody, who loved her daughter, could not or would not understand my mother's hostility"[597] Olivier stated, and records reveal Dorothy's involvement with Helen do indeed also reveal a profound commitment to her.

One fact we do know about Helen Todd, is that after her education at Somerville College Oxford, she moved to Paris and In 1929, she gave birth to a son. "I see Dody's niece has had a niece"[598] quipped Janet Flanner to Madge Garland observing the mother and her young illegitimate son. Like his mother, Olivier did not know his father and his attempt to find the Austrian born Julias — who his mother dismisses as a "bustard"[599] — is explored in *Year of the Crab*:

> I often mused on the possibility that my taste for seduction, without any real desire or deep pleasure, might have derived from Dody, whether through imitation or heredity. Dody spent a fair part of her life seducing other, women if necessary breaking up a couple in the process. I had watched some of her adventures from close quarters or a distance; and as I passed the École Militaire, the last came up in my mind again.[600]

Todd begins this extended anecdote of Dorothy by stating her sexual preferences. He also seems to affirm Helen's accusation which places Dorothy as the seducer of Lukach — "Dody made it a habit to disrupt couples"[601] — by outlining his own witnessing of her "breaking up a couple." This is clearly a line of enquiry which Cohen seeks to align herself to. She opens the chapter on Madge Garland's relationship with Todd with the following story: "One weekend in Paris in 1923 or '24,

[597] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.133
[598] Flanner, Janet, cited in Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.246
[599] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.23
[600] ibid. p.131
[601] "As an adult, Helen's interpretations of her origins was informed by her bitterness toward Dody, her experience of Dody's interference in her life. [...] She had watched her mother's lovers regularly move in with them and then return to their husbands as she was growing up. She believed that Dody had enticed Lukach away from Ruthella, and that he was her father." Cited in Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.245

Madge sat in a movie theatre watching the film and holding Ewart's [her new husband] hand. On the other side say Dorothy Todd. [...] Madge also held her hand."[602] Later instances in this chapter will demonstrate how Garland needed no seduction to involve herself with Todd, and in consideration of Olivier's anecdote, I find it hard to believe that Dorothy would have willingly had sex with a man.[603]

It is from the memoir novel of Olivier that many nuggets of information of Dorothy's character can be gleaned. A passage from Olivier's work gives an account of his grandmother that serves as a useful introduction before discussing her views on fashion and editing *Vogue*:

> I had returned from my first trip to Asia. My grandmother was then over seventy. A few months earlier a pupil of my mother's had asked for the name of someone she could stay with in England. Dody had decided she would like to put up this young woman of thirty and gave her the two daily English lessons she wanted. The afternoon following my return from Saigon, Maman said to me, in that uneasy tone her voice always took on when speaking of her mother: "Dody's suddenly turned up in Paris."
>
> "Really? Where is she?"
>
> "In a hotel just by the École Militaire."
>
> I jumped into a taxi at once. When I got to the hotel, I asked the porter for the number of Miss [Todd's] room, and went straight up. It was a smallish hotel, with a red stair-carpet, clean but threadbare, and a narrow lift. On the third floor I knocked at Room 32. No answer. I knocked again, loud.
>
> "It's me — Roly."[604]

[602] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.237-238

[603] It must be remembered that at the time of Helen's birth, Dorothy was in her early twenties and possibly past the age of doubting her sexuality.

[604] "Up to thirteen or fourteen I had a nickname, Roly Poly, because I'd been such a chubby small child. Maman and Dody still called me Roly from time to time." Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.23

 [605]

Figure 73

"Just a second."

It was Dody's voice, firm and only a little hoarse. In a minute the young woman, whom I had met at my mother's, and who had spent several weeks as Dody's lodger, came and opened the door. Her hair was rumpled, her cheeks too pink, her make-up hastily repaired, and her embarrassment obvious. Dody was in her old light blue dressing-gown, reclining on the bed with two pillows at her back, calm and majestic: Louis XIV at the King's private levée.

As always, she was pleased to see me; but I had interrupted other pursuits, which were not entirely spiritual.

"I'll leave you," said the young woman. "You must have a lot to talk about. It must be ages since you've seen each other."

"Yes," said Dody. "Let's see — it's seven months. Au revoir, my dear. Phone me this evening. I always go to bed early, as you know. I'm sure to be here after nine."

[605] Olivier Todd
Sourced from: http://tsutpen.blogspot.co.uk/2009/04/broadcasters-65.html
accessed on 1st March 2014.

The young woman put on her fur cloak (it was winter), and cleared off. I felt half amused, half embarrassed. As for Dody, she was superb in her calm. Like that day in London seventeen years before, when I was rummaging in one of her drawers for something she wanted and came across photos of naked women on a rock, with Dody in the middle, equally naked. Casually gathering up the photos, she remarked: "We went in for a lot of nudism at Cap Martin. And what marvellous evenings one spent when Jean — Cocteau, of course — came to see us." Dody never admitted in front of me that she was a Lesbian, although everyone knew it. Nor in front of my mother for that matter. In general she discussed religion with me far more readily than sex.

"Well," she said, as the door closed behind her friend, "how was the Asian trip? I've been reading your articles."

Quite smoothly and easily we had moved onto Hong Kong and Singapore. The she told me she was engaged in writing a philosophical treatise

[...].

I don't think Dody had any more talent for philosophy than I have. After her death I found in her papers the elements of her opus: merely accumulated quotations on yellowing pages, an incongruous jumble, fragments copied out from St. Theresa of Avila, Martin Buber, Alfred North Whitehead and Ludwig Wittgenstein. At most the notes of a school-girl, or, to be fair, a first-year student.

That afternoon, in the hotel near the École Militaire, I suggested we went out and had a drink. She put on her old steel-grey dress with the velvet collar, and dabbed herself with eau-de-cologne.

The next day I was laughing to Maman about my encounter: "I hope when I reach her age I have the vitality and passions she has."

My mother was furious. "That's a disgusting thing to say. She is your grandmother, after all.[...] I have never understood very well what Dody solemnly called "my philosophy, and

my philosophy of existence." What I saw in it above all were the disparate elements which she could obviously reconcile to her own satisfaction.

[...]

On the political level she called herself a socialist though she was above all a liberal in the old English tradition. She had been a suffragette and a feminist. During the Spanish Civil War she was actively concerned with a "Committee for the Children of Spain." At least twenty times she told me the same story: "We went to see the Foreign Minister, and we said to him: 'These children must be put on the ships of the British Mediterranean Fleet. The German and Italians are going to take those cities any day.' You know what that minister had the face to answer? From an Olympian height he informed us: 'To the knowledge of His Majesty's Government, officially there are no German or Italian troops in Spain.'" Twenty-five years afterwards Dody would still tremble with rage; and shake her clenched left fist, repeating: "The cheek of that minister, the bloody cheek."

In the religious sphere, which played and increasingly large part in her life the older she got, the less "progressive" she became. Her religion was a strange, exasperating concoction, a mixture of Anglicanism, inherited from her father, and a Christian Science, which she brought back from the United States. She tried, without success, to initiate me in the works of Mary Baker Eddy. When she was in Paris, she made desperate efforts to drag me to the Christian Scientists' lecture hall on the Champs Élysées.

[...]

She retained her sense of humour on everything except religion. When [...] I went up to Cambridge, she declared herself "pleased as punch," and was specially delighted that I had decided to read philosophy. Disenchantment set in fast: well up in so many things, she hadn't realised that Cambridge was a hive of the most stubborn empiricists, of uncompromising logical positivism, of atheists and agnostics [...]. She was heartbroken to see me "in the hands of these people;" and towards the end of her life, when she tried

> to read Wittgenstein, I really think she was striving to discover in him that sense of the divine which would make the whole empiricist edifice crumble. As for my elementary and very primitive interpretations of Wittgenstein, she hoped she could one day shatter them once and for all. In Dody's eyes I had always been retrievable; some day I should find my salvation. She had one thing to console her: I at least was not a communist like Maman. Dody would often murmur: "I don't understand, I simply don't understand, how your mother could become a communist, let alone remain one."
>
> On the blue velvet couch I would often talk of my love-hate attachment to Dody, saying that she had been a bit of a father or grandfather figure to me rather than a grandmother. On the couch I admitted to being torn between Dody and my mother.[606]

In this passage, Olivier delves into the personal proclivities and moral fundamentals which dominated the persona of his grandmother. The aspects he identifies were what made her retain such a prolific presence during her grandson's sessions on the blue velvet couch of his psychiatrist. The openness of Dody's sexuality defines a large part of how Olivier sees his grandmother, identifying her early on in the novel as "a well known lesbian."[607] After walking in on what is obviously the scene of an abruptly ended sexual tryst, Olivier observes — with a tone of unmistakeable masculine bravado — his grandmother regally reclining with the arrogance of a King. Cohen has observed how

> Dody never went out of her way to lie when it came to her desire for women — she never married to make herself more acceptable socially, unlike many contemporaries who preferred their own sex. [...] Her name was linked to everything sexual in London and Paris. [608]

[606] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.131-136
[607] ibid.p.23
[608] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.246-247

The memories which Olivier draws upon in this section of the novel with regards to Dody's sexuality reveal a woman who was neither embarrassed nor ashamed of — but who at the same time did not see the need to boldly proclaim — her sexuality. The young English student leaves the hotel room without the need for further commentary, suggesting the extent of Dody's desire for privacy. This need reveals itself strongly in the circumstances around her dismissal from *Vogue*. The narrative is moved on by Dody's interest in her grandson's travels and writings. Olivier uses this opportunity in the novel to reveal the intelligent inquisitiveness of his grandmother in terms of her philosophical, religious and political standpoints. "She tried to keep up with everything that was going on, especially in Paris: right up to the end of her life she considered Paris the Mecca of the intellect. In the tone of a serious child she would say, 'And what is Satre thinking about?' or, 'I would like you to send me the latest volume of Yves Bonnefoy.'"[609] Here, as well as in the previous citation, the characteristics which make up a perfect editor are fully on display. Dody is presented as intelligent and curious and thus always up-to-date in terms of her understanding of ideas and developments across the cultural sphere. Eventually unable to use these traits to teach an audience of likeminded readers, Dody can be said to have taken her grandson as her audience post-*Vogue.* Throughout the rest of her life, Dody successfully presented to Olivier a range of subjects which he remembered long after her death. Some of these teachings often sparked his disagreement and dissatisfaction:

> My grandmother Dody, when I spent my year alone with her in 1947, inoculated me against God. Dody too would have like to convert me. [...] Dody often used to talk of St. John of the Cross. Hell, it's not an arrival point but one of the ways of purging yourself en route, like the glass of whiskey when you don't like whiskey, but swallow it with the conviction that it will cleanse the liver.[610]

[609] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.134
[610] ibid. p.45-46

Olivier references "the elements of her opus"[611] which he finds amongst his grandmothers papers after her death, and sadly but rather interestingly describes them as "merely accumulated quotations on yellowing pages, an incongruous jumble, fragments." This again reveals a frustration on the part of Olivier at the lack of any real life story left by his grandmother. The only words he finds are those of others which she wrote down in order to record "my philosophy, and my philosophy of existence"[612] but which, without the words of the lady herself, only stand as "disparate elements"[613] of a jigsaw. We may take these elements to piece together the ideology of a figure who was clearly concerned about writing about cultural shifts and political tensions, but who no longer had the mouthpiece — nor the social influence — she needed to motivate her to express these considerations with any real fervour. We may also use these pieces to simply say that Dorothy was a female with an understanding of the importance of being au courant[614] and a woman, who despite everything she experienced, maintained a strong hold upon her own identity.

Early on in the memoir novel, Christopher Ross [Olivier Todd] decides to hunt for his paternal father, affirmatively answering his own internal musings surrounding notions of identity — "does a man need to know who his father was, where he comes from, in order to know where, he, the son, is going?"[615] Ross realises that his childhood had been dominated by the "weight of women"[616] which was steadily being lifted as his often clueless hunt continues — "through Julius I am rediscovering the world of men."[617] The end of the passage I have chosen to cite from the memoir novel reveals how Ross often sought to place Dody in the vacant space of "father or grandfather." Dody's unconventionality offered Olivier the opportunity consciously to veer the

[611] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.132
[612] ibid. p.133
[613] idem.
[614] ibid. p.76 "She had kept from the 'twenties a literary avant-gardism, a permanent taste for the latest "in" thing, if possible sophisticated. She had a special way, sibilant and emphatic, of saying: "It's very sophisticated."
[615] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.29
[616] ibid. p.81
[617] idem.

personality of Dody away from more the more traditional definition of a grandmother. Olivier's identification of his grandmother as "a well known lesbian"[618] and the way in which he admires his grandmother's continual sexual vivaciousness, indeed suggest that her sexuality is a part of his deliberate identification of her within the parameters of a more masculine set of associations. This deliberate transference of gender roles was able thus to procure him a much needed masculine presence in his life. The need for a paternal figure is revealed in the amount of time he spent living with Dody. Olivier's reminiscences about the year he spent living with his grandmother in Chelsea, reveal the strong sense of admiration he harboured for his grandmother, as well revealing his willingness to embrace the elements of culture that she too embraced.

In 1947, Olivier and Dody would "spend whole days [at The National Gallery]"[619] discussing, "*The Battle* in detail together,"[620] reading "Romeo and Juliet"[621] and "chatting over cups of cocoa."[622] During these conversations, Dody would "initiate [Olivier] into English Literature"[623] and encourage him to "discover T.S. Eliot."[624] It is apparent that Dody's literary influences affected her grandson as he repeatedly cites passages from Eliot's *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock* during moments of emotional reflection. Taking his "diploma of higher studies,"[625] Todd achieved the Corti Prize of sixty thousand francs for his proposed study of "The Theme of Death in T.S. Eliot."[626] Becoming a writer himself after a short, unsatisfying spell in academia — "I hadn't got an academic mind"[627] — Olivier published fictional works, but interestingly, worked most of his life within the same world as his grandmother — newspapers and magazines. His passion for literature and his writing capabilities were clearly talents which Dody fostered in the

[618] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.23
[619] ibid. p.280
[620] idem.
[621] ibid. p.265
[622] ibid. p.41
[623] idem.
[624] idem.
[625] ibid. p.26
[626] idem.
[627] ibid. p.94

 [628]

Figure 74

[628] "That very old gouache by Lurçat, a cheerful stylised Hamlet, which belonged to Dody." Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.94
Sourced from: http://www.moma.org/collection/object.php?object_id=16688
accessed on 14th February 2012

same way in which she fostered the aptitudes of the young innovators of the 1920s. Rebecca West recorded how Dody, "gave young writers a firmer foundation than they might have had by commissioning them to write articles on intelligent subjects at fair prices."[629] Passages from *Year of the Crab* reveal not only the important role played by Dorothy in the life of her grandson, but also the extent to which he believes in the need to record her life. I wish to end this section by highlighting one final scene from Olivier's recollections of his grandmother, which I feel — with its invocations of sexuality, alongside intellectual curiosity, friendship, and the gloom of downfall and personal failure —aptly summarises the life of Dorothy Todd:

> In the King's Road we would meet Osbert Sitwell in his gentleman-author's tweeds; or an old lady of the Russian aristocracy who would invite me to talk of Rasputin; or a mass of delicate faded lesbians who kissed Dody on the cheeks as if she were a baby.
>
> "Dody, how lovely to see you!"
>
> "You *must* come and dine with us."[630]

4.3 "A shimmer of dash and chic"[631]: Dorothy Todd's Appearance

> Are you dressed like that because you are on *Vogue*, or are you on *Vogue* because you are dressed like that?[632]

So asked literary editor and staff writer, Aldous Huxley of Madge Garland one day in the corridors of the *Vogue* offices. Garland, constantly described in terms of her overt au courant femininity, and her lover and boss, Dorothy Todd were both arbiters of fashion and taste during the 1920s. In

[629] West, Rebecca, cited in Russell-Noble, J. [ed.] *Recollections of Virginia Woolf* (London: Peter Owen, 1972) p.90
[630] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.41
[631] Bell, Ann Olivia & McNeillie, A [eds.] *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1975-1982) p.176
[632] Huxley, Aldous, cited in Kavanagh, Julie, *Secret Muses: The Life of Frederick Ashton* (London: Faber & Faber, 1996) p. 74

her autobiography, *Always in Vogue*, Edna Woolman Chase accuses Todd of "eschewing "[633] fashion content during her years as editor. In the previous chapter, I aimed to show how this accusation can be proved false. I wish in this section, to reveal how the choices Todd made in terms of her own mode of dress as well as her personal relationship to clothes, contributed to her presentation of fashion in *Vogue*. This exploration will further supplant Chase's accusation and instead cement my argument that fashion, for Todd and for her version of *Vogue*, was as much a part of the modernist movement as art, music or literature.


[634]

Figure 75

[633] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.131
[634] Dorothy Todd in Haute Savoie photographed by Madge Garland.
Sourced from: Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.240

It may seem improbable — considering the lack of information on Todd — that there could be room for any real misunderstanding or misinterpretation when considering her appearance. Studies which have dealt with Todd and *Vogue* magazine have nearly all described her as being "alarmingly butch."[635] This accusation has been inferred from the observations of her fellow lodger, Peter Quennell —"a short, square, crop-headed, double-breasted, bow-tied lady"[636] — and the ballet of dancer and choreographer, Frederick Ashton. Ashton — who lodged with Garland, Quennell and Todd at the Church Street house in Chelsea — featured two characters which were "caricatures of Todd and Garland"[637] in his first ballet, *A Tragedy of Fashion*. The "veiled send up of Dody Todd [was] dressed in a sort of lesbian like fashion"[638] who also "smoked and strode around the stage giving orders."[639] This theatrical caricatures has often been taken as a true representation of Todd. I believe that Todd is unlikely to have been as overtly androgynous

[640]

Figure 76

[635] Kavanagh, Julie, *Secret Muses: The Life of Frederick Ashton* (London: Faber & Faber, 1996) p.73
[636] Quennell, Peter, *The Marble Foot: An Autobiography, 1905-1938* (London: Collins, 1976) p.148
[637] Pender, Anne, "Modernist Madonna's: Dorothy Todd, Madge Garland and Virginia Woolf" in *Women's History Review*, Volume 16, Number 4 (London: Routledge, 2007) pp.519-533 p.522
[638] Kavanagh, Julie,. *Secret Muses: The Life of Frederick Ashton* (London: Faber & Faber, 1996) p.73
[639] Pender, Anne, "'Modernist Madonnas'; Dorothy Todd, Madge Garland and Virginia Woolf" in *Women's History Review,* Volume 16, Number 4 (London: Routledge, 2007) pp.519-533 p.522
[640] The production of Frederick Ashton's *A Tragedy of Fashion*
Image sourced from: http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/entertainment/3722379.stm
accessed on September 23rd 2010

as earlier accounts have made out to be the case. I wish to steer away from the image of Todd as "butch" and as a "masculine woman"[641] and instead aim to examine the accounts of her fashionaility and style and how they translate to portray Todd as the very image of a 1920s professional working woman. In *Year of the Crab*, Olivier Todd describes the appearance of his grandmother:

> Through all my childhood, Dody always seemed to be wearing an austere iron-grey suit with a black velvet collar; in her button hole she had a fresh carnation, white or crimson, changed every day. She moved about in a trail of eau de cologne which she took from a round mauve bottle.[642]

Laura Doan's definitive work*, Fashioning Sapphism: The Origins of a Modern English Lesbian Culture,* examines the chronological development of lesbianism, its relation to the law, visual cultures, literature and fashion, alongside the prominent controversy of Radclyffe Hall and other notorious lesbians of the first two decades of the twentieth century. Importantly in terms of this discussion of Todd, Doan, in her examination of fashion and sexuality, initially establishes that even in the 1920s the correlation between "(masculine) dress and (homo) sexuality presented in the figure of the crossed-dressed women"[643] had not yet been identified. Doan's work becomes even more applicable to a study of Todd when she considers the masculine shapes which fashion styles were increasingly drawing upon. Doan states: "The 'look' cultural critics now regard as the most pervasive image of lesbianism closely resembles that of the 1920s Modern Girl and the Masculine Woman."[644] The distinction identified by Doan to have existed in the 1920s between the Modern Girl — one who adopted the boyish styles of the new tailoring and fashionable

[641] Cited from the song "Masculine Women, Feminine Men" written by Edgar Leslie & James V. Monaco. Recorded by Merril Bruntes & His Friars Inn Orchestra, February, 1926
[642] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.237
[643] Doan, Laura, *Fashioning Sapphism: The Origins of Modern English Lesbian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001) p.95
[644] ibid. p.99

haircuts — and the Masculine Woman was originally based on perceptions of age. Women who were older took the boyish look and made it look unsettlingly mannish:

> Many modern emancipated women adopted these codes but were an age that put boyishness out of reach […] in acquiring the look of the Modern Girl the older woman comes even closer to the stereotype of the mannish lesbian.[645]

[646]

Figure 77

This convolution of styles unsettled the assumptions surrounding not only presentations of gender but also notions of sexuality. The disturbance of traditional gender codes can be seen explicitly in the image of Dorothy Todd. It seems to be the "button-hole" of Olivier's above

[645] Doan, Laura, *Fashioning Sapphism: The Origins of Modern English Lesbian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001) p.101

[646] Radclyffe Hall, photographed by Howard Coster, 1932
Sourced from: http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portraitLarge/mw14613/Radclyffe-Hall
accessed on March 29th 2010

description which has led critics astray in their imaginings of Todd and the consequential aligning of her to images of the "most pervasive image of "butch" lesbianism.[647] Critics are fast to forget Chanel's creations of jersey tailoring designed for the increasingly employed professional female and the fashionable mode for cropped hair. It seems to me, that scholars of British *Vogue* take the knowledge of Todd's open lesbianism, mix it with their knowledge of the stereotypical masculine based femininity of the 1920s and arrive at the conclusion that Todd must have looked something like their visualizations of Radclyffe Hall and her cross-dressing protagonist, Stephen Gordon.[648] Todd's "dark hair, which she kept short and slicked back in an Eton crop"[649] may have indeed appeared mannish, but it was no shorter than the images of the most modish women depicted in *Vogue*. As Doan's analysis reveals, it was probably Todd's age — she was thirty-nine when she became editor of *Vogue* in 1922 — which now places her alongside definitions of the Masculine Woman rather than the more fashion conscious image of the Modern Girl. Interestingly, none of the contemporary images I have been able to source of Todd depict her in a trouser suit. All three reveal her to be wearing a skirt suit of both practical and fashionable length. This skirt suit was regarded as her uniform and strikes me as both appropriate for a working woman and appropriate for the editor of the world's most famous fashion magazine during the 1920s. Apart from the excessively theatrical caricature of Ashton's ballet, there is only one other mention of Todd which references her as having worn trousers —Virginia Woolf commented that one day Todd wore "sponge-bag trousers and Garland pearls and silk."[650] Doan states that even the excessive masculine model of dress adhered to by Radclyffe Hall seldom incorporated the wearing of trousers and it is therefore likely, given that on this occasion Woolf was visiting the Todd

[647] Benstock, Shari, *Women of the Left Bank: Paris, 1900-1940* (Texas: University of Texas Press, 1987) cited in Doan, Laura, *Fashioning Sapphism: The Origins of Modern English Lesbian Culture* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001) p.97
[648] Hall, Radclyffe, [1928] *The Well of Loneliness* (London: Wordsworth Editions, 2014)
[649] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.242
[650] Virginia Woolf to Vanessa Bell, 25th May 1928, cited in cited in, Nicholson, Nigel [ed.] *A Change in Perspective: The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1977) p.501

"ménage" at their home, that the sponge bag trousers were merely a part of Todd's private non-professional wardrobe.

These images of Todd go some length in disproving Woolman Chase's claim that Todd was not at all interested in fashion. Todd's interest in presenting herself fashionably, as well as her aim to present fashion as a part of culture, also leads to the possible conclusion that she was, come 1915, intending to gain employment at *Vogue*, and perhaps through her friends forays into the world of magazine publication, had an insider's insight into the discussions regarding the possible British edition of *Vogue*. This citation from *Year of the Crab*, for example reveals the significance of clothing to Todd:

> A thought for Eric, Dody's brother, my late great-uncle, who went from Eton into a British guards regiment and was killed in 1915 or 1916. Dody was wearing yellow the day she learnt of his death. While Dody was alive, it was forbidden to wear yellow in the family."[651]

Woolman Chase, also recalls a moment in the *Vogue* office when "Aldous Huxley, who, being near-sighted, one day unfortunately sat upon Miss Todd's new hat, causing her loud and unliterary anguish."[652] Both pieces of evidence further suggest Todd's passion and awareness of the role and importance of fashion in everyday life as well as her belief in the capability of clothing to be meaningful, poignant and powerful. These instances quickly refute the accounts which overlook the style of Dody in comparison to her "more decoratively apparelled friend and colleague,"[653] Madge Garland. In public, Garland may have portrayed a more "excessive"[654]

[651] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.62
[652] Woolman Chase, Edna & Chase, Ilka, *Always in Vogue*. (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1954) p.131
[653] Quennell, Peter, *The Marble Foot: An Autobiography, 1905-1938* (London: Collins, 1976) p.148
[654] Bell, Ann Olivia & McNeillie, A [eds.] *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1975-1982) p.184

fashionability, but from the photograph of the two women overleaf, one can see little difference between the outfits. Both women are attired in the comfortable jersey which appeared in Chanel's collection at her first store in Deauville.

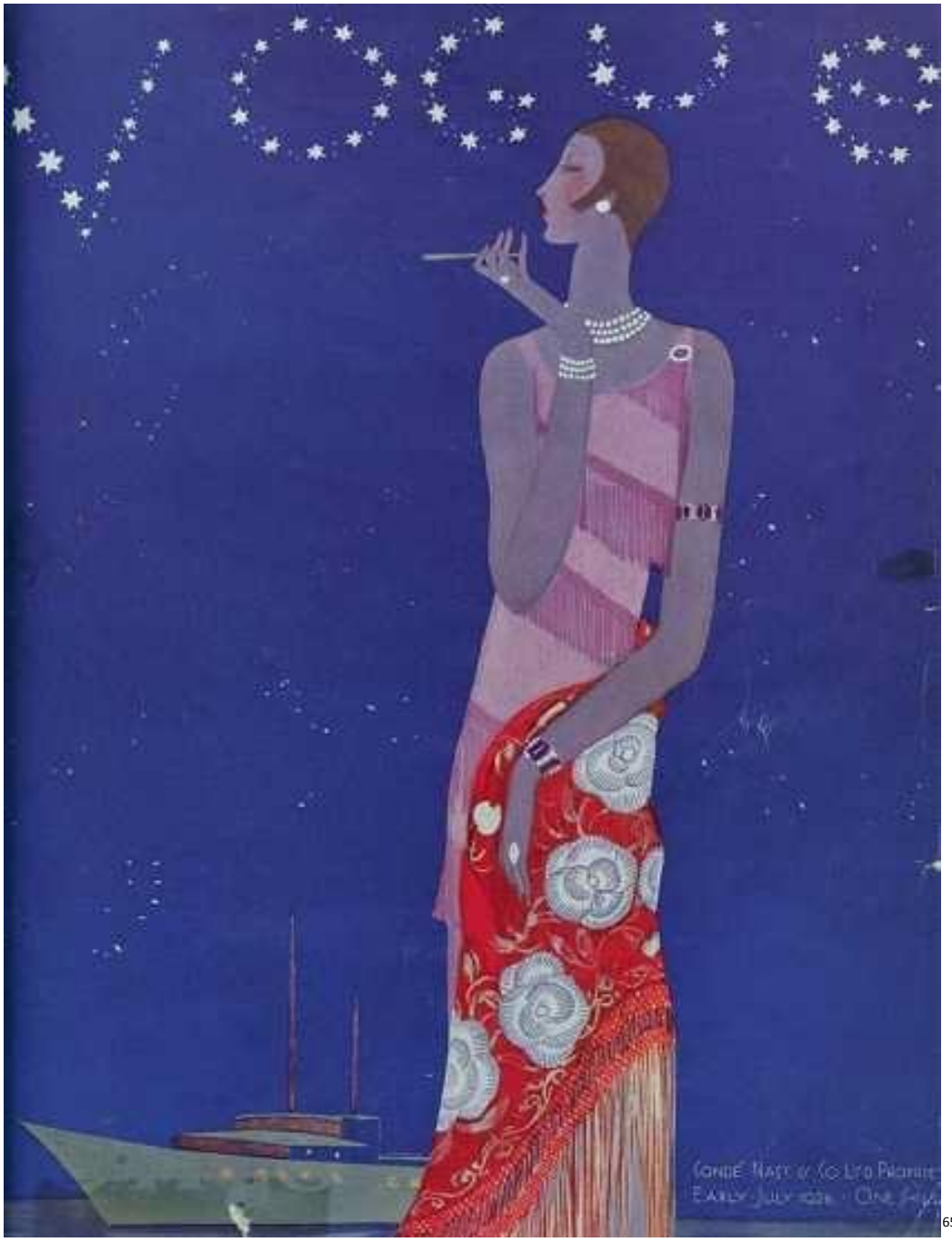
The real life images of Todd which illustrate this chapter, stand as contradictions to the images conjured up by scholars as well as those of some of her contemporaries. The image which Reed presents in his article, "A *Vogue* That Dare Not Speak Its Name: Sexual Subculture During the Editorship of Dorothy Todd" for example, is one in which both magazine and editor appear as "remarkably queer."[655] Reed explains *Vogue's* focus on "androgynous fashion, campy wit, and visual extravagance,"[656] as a direct result of the persuasions and preferences of Todd. In drawing attention to the way clothing was linked to performative subversions of traditional notions of gender and sexuality, Reed makes the mistake of overlooking the real image of Todd and supplanting it with one not so different to that illustrated below. The woman with the "commanding pleasing voice and a plummy accent"[657] and her lover, Madge Garland, waltz around in Reed's world — which, incidentally is based on images from theatrical productions rather than on real-life fashion plates — anachronistically playing out the twenty first century stereotype of the 1920s Sapphic couple.

[655] Reed, Christopher, "A *Vogue* Which Dare Not Speak Its Name: Sexual Subculture During the Editorship of Dorothy Todd, 1922-26" in *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture,* Volume 10, Issues 1 & 2 (London: Berg, 2006) pp.39-72 p.68
[656] ibid. p.43
[657] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.238

 [658]

Figure 78

[658] Madge Garland and Dorothy Todd
Sourced from Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.248.



[659]

Figure 79

[659] Cover for Early July, 1924 by Eduardo Garcia Benito. Interestingly, this modish cover which indeed can be said to invoke a modernist aesthetic in art, did not appear on the cover of the American edition until July 1928.
Sourced from: http://www.vogue.co.uk/magazine/archive/issue/1920/
accessed on 13th September 2010.
This cover, as well as demonstrating the mode of short, mannish, cropped hair, also demonstrates the female smoker. Cigarettes are also integral to the dramatised image of Dorothy Todd in Ashton's ballet. For more on female smokers in *Vogue* see Warsh, Cheryl Krasnick & Tinkler, Penny, "In *Vogue*: North American and British Representations of Women Smokers in *Vogue*, 1020's-1960" in *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History,* Volume 24, Issue 1 (Waterloo: Laurier University Press, 2007) pp.9-47.

[660]

Figure 80

[660] Anonymous, "The Small Neat Coiffure is the Favourite of the Mode" *Vogue*, Late December 1923 p.55. Interestingly, the subject of the photographic image is theatrical actress, Dora Stroeva.

THE MODE GOES BRILLIANTLY DOWN MODERNISTIC PATHS

What Matisse did for the realm of art when he launched his first arresting studies on an unbelieving world, what "Processional" brought into the theatre, with bewildered criticism and acclaim trailing in its wake—these qualities modernistic costumes have brought to the fashion world, a startling, brilliant newness, a fresh slant on colour and line, a dazzling departure from that which has gone before

MODELS ON THIS PAGE
DIRECTED BY FRANKLIN SIMON

Agnès is the first of the designers to introduce the modernistic theme in jersey sports clothes, and, in this striking blouse of silk jersey, the design is stencilled in the most modern of modern manners in every shade of grey on white. It is worn over a pleated skirt; posed by Tamaris; jewels on these two pages from Lord and Taylor

(Right) A sports blouse in the modernistic spirit is of white crêpe de Chine, with designs in brown and yellow on the blouse, repeated in the scarf, worn over a camisole-topped skirt, very finely pleated; from Sonia de Launey; posed by Anita Chace

661

Figure 81

[661] Expressions of modernism in clothing represented on the pages of Todd's *Vogue*.

 [662]

Figure 82

[662] Anonymous, "Beautiful Varda" *Vogue*, Early August 1925 p.55

 [663]

Figure 83

[663] Beaton, Cecil "Madge Garland" 1927.
Sourced from: http://www.npg.org.uk/collections/search/portrait/mw08148/Madge-Garland accessed on 28th September 2010.

 [664]

Figure 84

[664] Dorothy Todd
Sourced from Cohen, Lisa, "Virginia Woolf, Fashion and British *Vogue*" in *The Charleston Magazine: Charleston, Bloomsbury and the Arts* Summer/Winter Issue (London: Charleston Trust, 1998) p.5-12 (6)

4.4 "Sovereigns of the Modern Age Reigning Over Certain Aesthetic Circles in London"[665]: Dorothy Todd and Madge Garland

Dorothy Todd's appointment as editor of British *Vogue* is yet another mysterious section of her life story. Much of this story can be pieced together using what little evidence is available, as well as applying a certain amount of educated guesswork. On 14th June 1915, aged thirty-two, Todd made the journey from Liverpool, England to New York on the St. Paul. The record details her as single, with no occupation and as able to read and write. After a stay of fourteen months — which must have been dominated primarily by job hunting — Dorothy then returned to England on 30th July 1916 and identified herself as a journalist. On the shipping record which details her return journey to England, Todd stated that it was not her intention to live in the United States again in the near future. These records show how Todd may have travelled to New York in search of work as a journalist. Being British, it is likely, that coming across her in her search for employment, *Vogue* recruited her to look over the newly proposed British edition of the magazine. This explains why on 30th July 1916, two months before British *Vogue's* debut on British newsstands, Todd docked in Liverpool as a journalist and "saw British *Vogue* through its infancy."[666] This was not Todd's only voyage to New York. The next shipping record for is from 18th September 1919, when Todd was thirty-six. Under profession, Dorothy neatly inscribed, "editor and traveller," her mother's address reappeared as did a thirteen year old Dorothy — Todd's daughter. This stay was a longer one, during which Todd obviously did "acquaint herself more thoroughly with [*Vogue's*] policies and format."[667] The census of 1920 informs us that Dorothy Todd, along with her daughter boarded as English immigrants in the 7th Assembly District. We also see that Todd is still identifying herself as an "editor, magazine" and the stay in New York

[665] Sub-title here taken by combining recollections form both Ashton, Frederick cited in Kavanagh, Julie, *Secret Muses: The Life of Frederick Ashton* (London: Faber & Faber, 1996) p.74 and Beaton, Cecil, *Photobiography* (London: Odhams Press, 1951) p.34

[666] Woolman Chase, Edna & Chase, Ilka, *Always in Vogue*. (London: Victor Gollancz Ltd, 1954) p.132

[667] ibid.

was thus undoubtedly due to her continued *Vogu*e training. We may also assume that Todd was aware of her future editorship of *Vogue* from 1919 onwards. After this record, I have as yet been unable to locate any other documents informing us of Dorothy's whereabouts — which suggests that she was living in New York and working at the American edition — until 17th February 1923, when with Helen she travelled from New York to Southampton and listed the Russell Hotel, Russell Street, London as her new address. Significantly, the Russell Hotel overlooks the park of Russell Square: the heart of Bloomsbury, which, during the 1920s, was home to the most famous of literary groups. This temporary address at the Russell Hotel was to become vital for Todd's ventures at *Vogue*.


[668]

Figure 85

Central to the life story of Todd, and indeed, to the history of *Vogue* at this time, is the relationship she had with Madge Garland. Cohen states that Garland was already working at *Vogue* when Todd took over as editor. Garland, having pursued a career within the publishing

[668] Present day image of the newly refurbished Hotel Russell, Bloomsbury, London. Image: author's own

industry, had been one of the original seven members of the staff at British *Vogue*, under the guidance of William Wood. Garland began as the magazine's receptionist and its "messenger boy,"[669] but after taking a secretarial course, she was promoted to the office typist, then became a secretary, before advancing to the position of "assistant to the editor." "She also learnt that how she looked gave her entrée."[670] Garland may well have been successfully ingratiating herself within the *Vogue* environment, but it was Todd who truly launched her career: "I owe her everything. Everything. She had this gift for finding and sponsoring young people. I was one."[671]

[672]

Figure 86

Madge McHarg — as she was known until Gertrude Stein encouraged her to change her name — had married Ewart Garland on 12th April 1922. By the following year, Madge was "holding hands" [673] with Todd who she viewed as having "apparently flawless social

[669] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.232
[670] ibid.
[671] Garland in conversation with Hilary Spurling. ibid. p.241
[672] The staff of British *Vogue* in January 1923. Aldous Huxley is seated on the left, behind him second from left is Madge McHarg [Garland], William Wood is standing in the centre, Dorothy Wilde is seated next to Huxley and Ruth Anderson is in the centre. It will be remembered that Dorothy Todd was in New York until February of 1923.
Sourced from Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) unnumbered page
[673] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.238

credentials."[674] Although Ewart did not divorce her until 1930, Madge lived openly with Dody at 80 Church Street[675] Chelsea — the previous home of Elspeth Champcommunal, British *Vogue's* first editor. At this house, and at their next residence, 71 Royal Hospital Road Chelsea, Madge and Dody played hosts to the brightest talents in the artistic, cultural sphere. In their apartment, which Madge praised as "a beautiful house for parties,"[676] the worlds of high-brow art and high fashion mingled just as they did on the pages of the magazine. At the "impromptu wild parties in fancy undress"[677] the pair hosted, many acquaintances were first made and friends first introduced. Pender has noted how these parties were really "networking events"[678] disguised as informal, often scandalous, parties. The relaxed social ambiance of a fun filled soirée created the perfect opportunity for Todd to recruit new contributors to her magazine. Ashton recalled how "Just as people are called faghags now, I used to be escort to a whole host of lesbians."[679] Ashton shared the house at 71 Royal Hospital Road with the two *Vogue* rulers and attended many of their parties which were considered by many as the "best of the decade."[680] Peter Quennell who also lodged at the Todd abode, reminisced:

> Our landlady, though she enjoyed bohemian company, was somewhat suspicious of her inmates' morals and would now and then arrest a brushstroke, as she stood before her canvas and gaze up apprehensively towards the ceiling, since she had learned that the inhabitants of the first floor formed a slightly unconventional ménage.[681]

[674] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.238
[675] This address is listed on the Incoming Passenger Lists for 4th August 1923 and the London Electoral Register of 1924.
[676] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.255
[677] Balfour-Kinross, Patrick, *Society Racket: A Critical Survey of Modern Social Life* (London: John Long, 1933) p.64
Cited in Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.255 & note p.390
[678] Pender, Anne, "'Modernist Madonnas'; Dorothy Todd, Madge Garland and Virginia Woolf" in *Women's History Review,* Volume 16, Number 4 (London: Routledge, 2007) pp.519-533 p.530
[679] Kavanagh, Julie *Secret Muses: The Life of Frederick Ashton* (London: Faber & Faber, 1996) p.73
[680] Beaton, Cecil, *Photobiography* (London: Odhams Press, 1951) p.74
[681] Quennell, Peter, *The Marble Foot: An Autobiography, 1905-1938* (London: Collins, 1976) p.148

With their encouragement of such an air of fun and frivolity, it is easy to see how the social network of contributors between 1922 and 1926 became known as the "*Vogue* gang."[682] This unusual way of pursuing potential contributors has been commented upon by Cohen who argues that Todd and Garland "treated the magazine as a kind of salon over which they presided."[683] *Vogue's* pages were filled by the eminent intellectuals of the day who were invited to make an appearance by the prominent socialite, Dorothy Todd —"being in *Vogue* was being *at* the party."[684] These parties were also a hive of new talent, which served the purpose of elevating aspiring writers and artists onto the intelligent and cultural scene of 1920s London and thus, with the opportunity to be published, into the public arena. In the *Vogue* salon Todd and Garland

> helped Roger Fry in firmly planting the Post-Impressionists in English soil and they brought us all the good news about Picasso and Matisse and Derain and Bonnard and Proust and Jean Cocteau and Raymond Radiguet and Louis Jouvet and Arletty and the gorgeous young Jean Marais. They also gave young writers a firmer foundation than they might have had by commissioning them to write articles on intelligent subjects at fair prices. There never was such a paper.[685]

As clever and as pleasurable as these parties and social occasions were, they appear to have cost *Vogue* a great deal in financial terms. Harry Yoxall described how Todd had continually demanded money so that she might entertain potential and existing contributors at various lunch events. This mismanagement of *Vogue's* finances was also recorded by Garland herself, who later experienced firsthand the other personal debts incurred by Todd.

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[682] Beaton Cecil, unpublished diaries, January 23rd 1926 cited in Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.254
[683] ibid.
[684] Lee, Hermione, *Virginia Woolf* (London: Vintage, 1997) p.470
[685] Pender, Anne, "'Modernist Madonnas'; Dorothy Todd, Madge Garland and Virginia Woolf" in *Women's History Review,* Volume 16, Number 4 (London: Routledge, 2007) pp.519-533 p.521

"Dody was the key to the intellectual, aesthetic, and sentimental education [Madge Garland] craved"[686] remarks Cohen, herself heeding Chloe Tyner's words —"Dody was the absolute making of Madge."[687] In the same way Todd had "instructed and lifted Madge into public view, the two of them and *Vogue* did for others, established and fledging."[688] This reputation for both showcasing reputable writers, artists and musicians alongside the promotion of new innovators, led Todd and her protégé to become known as "sovereigns of the modern age"[689] and more recently as "Modernist Madonnas."[690] As much as they were known for their cultural curiosity and intelligent observations with regards to modernism, the fashion conscious couple were also defined by their relationship with one another. I have already stated that Garland had left her husband, Ewart for Todd sometime in 1923, and the two women had lived together openly since that time. The following section will consider the implications of this simultaneously personal and professional relationship as well as highlight some of the public opinion surrounding this cohabitation. Here, I believe it is once again necessary to turn to the words of Woolf. Bound up in Woolf's confusion about Todd and Garland were issues of dress, gender and sexuality. Whenever Woolf was to describe the couple, Garland would always be highlighted as displaying an "excessive"[691] amount of outward femininity and charm which contrasted sharply with the bolder, overt power which surrounded descriptions of Todd. Todd is presented as "able to stand on her own two feet,"[692] as the woman who was in control of the magazine and who determined its contents. Garland, presented as somewhat more "soft"[693] was "superintending the display"[694] as fashion editor only because of Todd. In a letter to her sister, Vanessa Bell, dated 25st May 1928

[686] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.238
[687] ibid.
[688] ibid. p.251
[689] Ashton, Frederick cited in Kavanagh, Julie, *Secret Muses: The Life of Frederick Ashton* (London: Faber & Faber, 1996) p. 74
[690] Pender, Anne, "'Modernist Madonnas'; Dorothy Todd, Madge Garland and Virginia Woolf" in *Women's History Review,* Volume 16, Number 4 (London: Routledge, 2007) pp.519-533
[691] Bell, Ann Olivia & McNeillie, A [eds.] *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1975-1982) p.184
[692] ibid. p.12-13
[693] Bell, Ann Olivia & McNeillie, A [eds.] *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1975-1982) p.184
[694] ibid. p.12

— almost two years following Todd's removal from *Vogue* — Woolf stated that "the Todd ménage [was] incredibly louche."[695] I am not the first[696] to highlight the significance of Woolf's application of the word louche here, which the *Oxford English Dictionary* defines as: "disreputable or sordid in a rakish or appealing way."[697] The juxtaposition involved in this word "louche" reveals Woolf's own confused, unarticulated feelings about the *Vogue* couple, particularly with regards to the overt masculinised strength and independence of Todd. The views of Woolf reveal how the personal and professional relationship of Todd and Garland provoked strong opinion in those who were involved in the magazine and in the sphere of magazines in general.[698]

There is one final element I wish to emphasise with regards to the importance of Garland to Todd and British *Vogue* which is to do with clothing. It has already been made clear that Garland was contemporarily known for her excellent taste and dedication to fashion. This dedication remained with her throughout the rest of her career and indeed her life. At some point during the *Vogue* years, Woolf confessed to Garland that "she would not be afraid to enter any restaurant if she was as beautifully dressed as [she] was."[699] Another contemporary who was very much in awe of Madge's ability to embrace modernity in dress was the photographer Cecil Beaton. In February 1926, Beaton — a frequent presence on *Vogue's* pages, a face at the *Vogue* parties and admirer of Madge Garland's beauty — commented upon one particular outfit worn by Madge. He marvelled how she looked "perfect in a most lovely costume by Nicole Groult.[700] Very influenced by Marie Laurencin — in pale blue and pink."[701] The outfit that had so evidently suited Garland and had captured Beaton's eye, also caught the attention of Roger Fry's protégé, Edward

[695] Nicholson, Nigel [ed.] *A Change of Perspective: The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1977) p.501
[696] Luckhurst, Pender and Nicholson have been among those to have emphasised the admiration towards Todd and Garland that Woolf reveals in this description.
[697] Definition sourced from: http://www.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/english/louche
accessed on 20th May 2014.
[698] See for example the innuendos and euphemisms of Fleet Street referenced in Section 4.6 below.
[699] Woolf, Virginia cited by Garland, Madge to Anscombe, Isabelle, "Interview" London, 8th October, 1979. Cited in Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.264
[700] Costume designer, Nicole Groult was the sister of fashion designer, Paul Poiret. She was married to the interior designer André Groult.
[701] Beaton, Cecil, cited in Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.257

"Teddy" Wolfe. Wolfe requested to paint Madge's portrait wearing this outfit in 1927, "but he left one eye in the portrait unfinished, Madge said, because toward the end of the sitting they put the gramophone on and danced."[702] Through Madge, *Vogue's* central ethos of showcasing fashion as a part of the modernist movement was embodied and empowered. Cohen too, has identified this role:

> [Garland's] clothes were a way to be adorned in a whole series of relationships: the exchange between high fashion and interior decoration in the 1920s, the artistic and commercial traffic between London and Paris, the sexual fluidity of the time. [...] Madge's wearing [...] was resolutely of the present, a way of being what writers and artists were interrogating in their media.[703]

More than anything, I believe Garland revels the importance of fashion for Dorothy Todd. Todd, was the first *Vogue* editor to appoint a fashion editor, and Garland was the perfect choice.

For Madge, fashion was not a superficial phenomena nor was clothing a frivolous entity. Chapter three of this thesis considered the presentation of fashion in *Vogue* and argued that during Todd's editorship, fashion was presented as a part of the new movement in the arts. In a lecture[704] given in 1951 at the Royal College of Art, Garland "identified and explained the work she and Todd had achieved at *Vogue*" and revealed the extent of this integration of fashion and high-art. Garland's lecture which was entitled, "Artifices, Confections, and Manufactures," positioned "the fashion designer as both architect of form and artist of colour, someone who must be aware

[702] Garland, Madge to Flora Groult, "interview" London, 26th July 1986. Cited in Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.258
[703] ibid. p.258 & 264
[704] Garland, Madge, *The Anatomy of Design: a series of inaugural lectures by professors of the Royal College of Art* (London: Royal College of Art, 1951)

of changes in contemporary thought."[705] The lecture revealed retrospectively, the sincere importance Garland and Todd placed upon clothing — "the dress designer [should] meet the same ruthless but informed criticism as the artist." As the referencing of this lecture will have indicated, Garland's career within the realm of fashion and publication did not end with the dismissal of her lover in September 1926. A few days after Todd was dismissed, Garland, Todd's ″maîtresse-en-titre"[706] was also removed. The following sections will document the circumstances of Todd's dismissal as well as the tragic demise which ensued. Before 1989, Garland had refused to comment about her relationship with Dody Todd. She had declined to talk with Olivier about his grandmother and failed to acknowledge Dody as anything more than a "friend" in her own autobiographical attempts — "present only as a sort of implication."[707] Garland found the memory of her mentor and lover, "inexpressibly painful."[708] One year before her death, Garland lamented to her biographer, Hilary Spurling:

> Other people will say that [Dorothy Todd] ruined my life, she ruined my marriage, she gave me a terrible time. To hell. I have no regrets at all. She fostered me and helped me. She opened many doors. I repaid that debt in full, because I supported her in later life. But I owed her more than I could ever repay.[709]

[705] Garland, Madge, *The Anatomy of Design: a series of inaugural lectures by professors of the Royal College of Art* (London: Royal College of Art, 1951)p.86
[706] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.267
[707] ibid. p.357
[708] Garland Madge to Spurling, Hilary, conversation, London 29th March 1989 ibid. p.258
[709] ibid. p.247

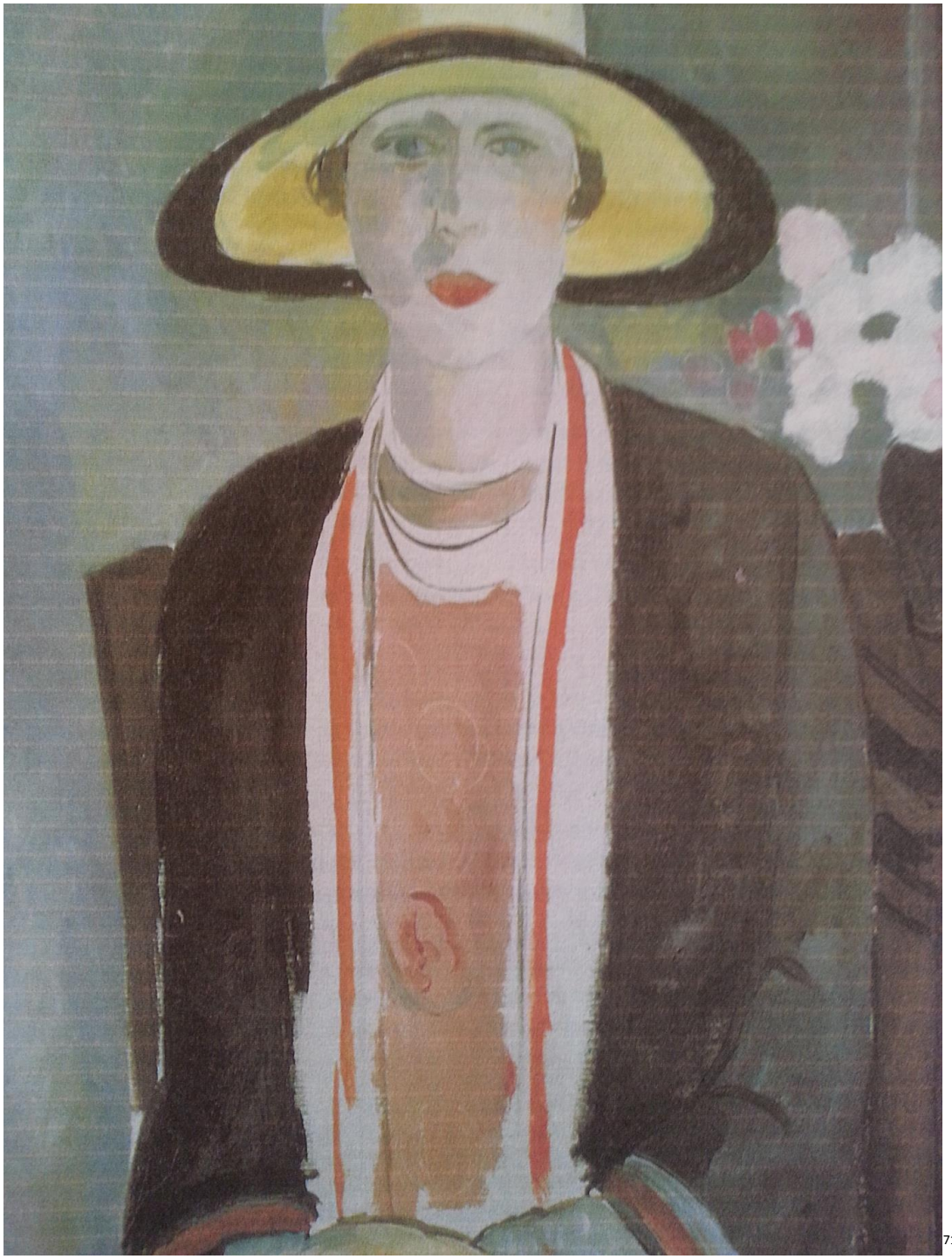 [710]

Figure 87

[710] Wolfe, Edward, "Madge Garland" 1926 in Museum of the Home Collection The Geffrye, London. The painting was donated to the gallery by Garland herself during the 1970s.
Sourced from: http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/paintings/madge-garland--133002
accessed on 23rd November 2013

4.5 "The Proportions of a Political Rupture:[711]" Dorothy Todd's Dismissal

> [Condé Nast] was all for closing up shop, pulling out of England, and putting the whole thing down to experience, but I was reluctant to have him do it. [...] It seemed to me incredible that, properly run, *Vogue* couldn't make a success with the British, especially when one remembered how well they had liked the American edition before the war.[712]

In this episode of her autobiography which concerns the Todd years at British *Vogue* — a flippant and vague sketch of barely three pages — Woolman Chase puts forth the accusation that Todd was the cause of the lack of success British *Vogue* experienced in the 1920s.

> Condé and I had long talks about it, and at last I suggested to him that he let me go to London, take over, and see what I could do. [...] I felt strongly that if we could get our British edition back into the *Vogue* formula, he might well recoup his losses and make a go of it. This was in the mid-'twenties. I went, I saw, I came home, I returned again, and I was a long time conquering.[713]

Woolman Chase's memoir reveals how the *Vogue* management initially attempted to stifle the cultural outcry from British *Vogue's* pages before resorting to a complete silencing in late 1926. Woolman Chase's memoir reveals Todd's determination to maintain her stance of stimulating "civilisation in the minds"[714] of her *Vogue* readers: "I heard that Todd had girded her loins and had dramatically announced that she would fight me to the death."[715] Woolman Chase concludes the episode by explaining that "Miss Todd's personality and her determination to twist *Vogue* into

[711] Vita Sackville West in a letter to Harold Nicholson dated September 24th 1926 cited in Luckhurst, Nicola, *Bloomsbury in Vogue* (London: Bloomsbury Heritage Series by Cecil Woolf, 1998) p.21
[712] Woolman Chase, Edna & Chase, Ilka, *Always in Vogue*. (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.131
[713] ibid. p.132
[714] Moody, A.D. cited in, Bell, Quentin, *Bloomsbury* [1990] (London: Weidenfield & Nicholson, 1968) p.11
[715] Woolman Chase, Edna & Chase, Ilka, *Always in Vogue*. (London: Victor Gollancz,: 1954) p.132

what it was not"[716] were the reasons why her removal as editor was inevitable and necessary. If indeed the matter of removing Todd came down to her presentation of fashion alongside art, literature and music, as well as the readership's lack of appreciation for this kind of cultural hybrid, then why, on 24th September did Vita Sackville West write to Harold Nicolson:

> We sat in the meadow [of the Woolf's house in Rodmell] and discussed the future of Miss Todd. As Tray [Raymond Mortimer] has probably told you, she has got the sack from *Vogue,* which owing to being too highbrow is sinking in circulation. Todd, a woman of spirit, though remonstrated with by Nast, refused to make any concessions to the reading public. So Nast sacked her. She then took legal advice and was told she could get £5,000 damages on the strength of her contract. Nast, when threatened with an action, retorted that he would defend himself by attacking Todd's morals. So poor Todd is silenced, since her morals are of the classic rather than the conventional order [...] This affair has assumed in Bloomsbury the proportions of a political rupture.[717]

This letter was written a mere two weeks after Nast sent a cable to his business manager, Harry Yoxall, demanding Todd's dismissal, revealing the haste with which she was removed from her post. Despite having complained of Todd's "prolonged absence at a crucial time, with all her fashion staff"[718] Yoxall himself was surprised by Nast's demands stating that his letter "was only one of many such that I have written and I never expected such drastic consequences."[719] Yoxall is really the only available source of information regarding Todd's dismissal. He recalls how "it was just after the General Strike that I had to perform my first important sacking. Dismissing a colleague is never pleasant; dismissing an editor is grim. Particularly when you are scared of the

[716] Woolman Chase, Edna & Chase, Ilka, *Always in Vogue*. (London: Victor Gollancz,: 1954) p.132
[717] Vita Sackville West in a letter to Harold Nicholson dated September 24th, 1926
Cited in Luckhurst, Nicola, *Bloomsbury in Vogue* (London: Bloomsbury Heritage Series by Cecil Woolf, 1998) p.21
[718] Yoxall, Harry W. *A Fashion of Life* (London: Heinemann, 1966) p.124
[719] ibid. p.125

lady."[720] Todd's formidable character obviously did not make Yoxall's first firing a particularly easy task. Her special relationship with her contributors also provided further cause for concern for Nast and his managerial team: "we are left now with a legal fight with Todd on our hands and a far more unpleasant hidden fight, as she tries to sour her old contributors and the fashion and advertising world against us."[721] Todd's attempt was obviously successful, inflaming Bloomsbury and the majority of her editorial staff to such an extent that they walked out in a "sympathetic strike."[722] If Nast and the rest of the *Vogue* company considered Todd's *Vogue* to be "too highbrow" why would it necessarily mind about losing Todd's highbrow contributors? This is just one aspect of the story of the dismissal of Todd which fails to make sense or appear rational.

The sexual freedom experimented with by Bloomsbury is by no means an unexamined area and Woolf's writings often reveal both a sense of confusion and of frustration at understanding her own sexuality. Interestingly, Woolf's deliberations surrounding her preferences are often aggravated when she writes of Todd — revealing a confused loathing after Todd's dismissal. One particular source strongly suggests that perhaps Woolf's feelings towards Todd were more than sheer admiration and it appears, perhaps significantly — considering their romantic involvement with each other — in a letter to Vita Sackville-West on 1st September 1925. She questions "what's the objection of whoring after Todd?"[723] This question has been used in previous works to highlight the sexually connotative language Woolf associated with writing for commercial publications. But perhaps, giving the obsessive nature of her becoming fashion conscious and the way in which she describes her feelings towards the earlier discussed shopping

[720] Yoxall, Harry W. *A Fashion of Life* (London: Heinemann, 1966) p.126
[721] Yoxall, Harry cited in, Luckhurst, Nicola, *Bloomsbury in Vogue* (London: Cecil Woolf Bloomsbury Heritage Series, 1998) p.21
[722] Yoxall recalls how this sympathetic strike forced him to write even the literary reviews under the pseudonym I.H. Partington "because I wrote like a man called that."
Sourced from Yoxall, Harry W. *A Fashion of Life* (London: Heinemann, 1966) p.127
[723] Nicholson, Nigel [ed.] *A Change in Perspective: The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1977) p.200

expedition as producing a "feverish excitement,"[724] the application of the word "whoring" here may place a certain Sapphic element into the relationship of Woolf and Todd. In the height of their association, Todd, Woolf and Sackville-West were noted as going to dinner at the *Eiffel Tower* restaurant in London, as well as associating at the many parties held by Todd in her Chelsea home. This possible sexual tension, may also explain the rise in the amount of same sex relationships in the works of Woolf such as *Mrs. Dalloway* and *Orlando*. On or about the end of September 1926 however, something changed. Todd had been removed from her position as editor of *Vogue* and after this date, there is only one mention of Todd in Woolf's letters until February 1928. This entry is revealing: "We were asked to a party by Todd. [...] What decided me not to go in?"[725] The earlier vigour with which Woolf pursued the *Vogue* scene and sought the presence and approval of Todd,[726] had been replaced with a desire not to be associated with Todd at all. Todd could no longer offer Woolf access to fame and fashionable society. For Woolf, Todd had lost all her earlier appeal — Woolf goes from running to Todd's bosom in June 1926 to flying from her doorstep in March 1927. It is perhaps no coincidence that when Todd's tenure ceased, so too did Woolf's contributions. However, the regard and fascination that Woolf had previously projected towards Todd did not simply diminish. Instead, it twisted into a ferocious attack, played out publically in Woolf's letters to various correspondents between September 1927 and May 1928. "[...] Do you know that rather alarming woman?" she writes to Harold Nicholson, "She reminds me of an extinct monster pushing through the mud — in my direction."[727] When once Woolf had presented herself as craving the opportunities to socialise, dress-well, write and earn

[724] Bell, Ann Olivia & McNeillie, A [eds.] *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1975-1982) p.78
[725] Nicholson, Nigel [ed.] *A Change in Perspective: The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1977) p.347
[726] On 28th January 1925, Virginia wrote to Logan Pearsall-Smith and commented "except for a few stars, whom she pays what they ask, Todd's prices are exactly the same as *The Nations*." One day later, on the 29th, Virginia wrote to Vita Sackville-West questioning: "Does Todd pay you immense sums?" This exchange reveals insecurity in Virginia in terms of how Todd considers and values her writing. There is unarguably a tone of anxious jealousness when Virginia refers to "a few stars, whom she pays what they ask" especially when considering her earlier failing to move Todd to a heightened writing wage. Virginia, because of this earlier episode, does not see herself as one of Todd's "stars" as she is not paid what she demands. Virginia's prying to know if Todd pays Sackville-West "immense sums" smacks of an enquiring jealousy, a desire to be held in higher esteem by Todd, even against and above that held of her closest companion.
[727] Letter to Harold Nicholson: Feb. 19th 1928 in Nicholson, Nigel [ed.] *A Change in Perspective: The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1977) p.459

offered by Todd's position as editor of *Vogue*, she now presents Todd as desperately craving after her: "She is tapir like, and the creatures' nose snuffs pertinaciously after Bloomsbury."[728] The diary entry of Saturday 18th February 1928 in which this observation appeared, also marks the start of Woolf's verbal attacks on Todd which are consistently based upon the lexicon of the wilderness, hunting and animals. These brutish attacks are not those associated with domestic pets either. Woolf presents Todd as some form of an uncivilised, untameable, wild beast — close to extinction. Woolf writes privately —"Todd [is] like some primeval animal emerging from the swamp, muddy, hirsute" — but also publically to friends — "Have you heard all that Todd cabals? [...] She is a truculent old brute, fatter and more snouted than ever."[729] These comments reveal Woolf's disgust and distaste in Todd and her open lesbianism [730] as well as a cruel mocking of her professional failures.

Christopher Reed is the sole scholar of this period in British *Vogue's* history to question the nature of the firing of Todd in September 1926. Prior to Reed's explorations, most scholars took the words of Woolman Chase as gospel. The excuses for retrieving the editorial reigns from Todd being those which were tied up with the alleged "eschewing" of fashion content, a loss of advertising revenue and a decline in readership figures — all factors which were considered as a direct result of *Vogue's* increasingly "highbrow" content. This research has partly aimed to highlight how the accusations on the part of Nast and Chase may indeed be proved false. Reed records:

> The limited historical commentary on this episode has followed Chase's autobiography, attributing Todd's determination to make British *Vogue* an avant-garde forum to the

[728] Bell, Ann Olivia & McNeillie, A [eds.] *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1975-1982) p.176
[729] Nicholson, Nigel [ed.] *A Change in Perspective: The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1977) p.463
[730] In a letter to Vanessa Bell on March 25th, 1928, Woolf also writes that she thinks Todd is like "a slug with a bleeding gash for a mouth." ibid. p.478

> quirks of her personality, and adding, as if they were unrelated data, the claim that, "The morally rigorous Mrs. Chase also disapproved strongly of Miss Todd's personal proclivities, which were overtly homosexual."[731]

Todd and Garland were distinctive for their generation in the way in which they chose to live openly together as a "sexually inverted"[732] couple. Although homosexuality was never a criminal offense for women, same sex relationships — the term lesbian was not used until the late 1920s — were still decidedly covert arrangements. Public awareness of Sapphic cohabitations and partnerships was heightened by the obscenity trial of Radclyffe Hall's *The Well of Loneliness*.[733] in 1928. Two years prior to this, in 1926, Todd and Garland were already starting to become "public figures who provoked sexual gossip on Fleet Street, London's grubby, male newspaper world."[734] This visibility is central, I believe, to the motivations of Nast and Chase with regards to the dismissal of Todd. Cohen is the most recent scholar to comment on the dangers of this visibility.

> Their cachet as a powerful couple [...] and the contrast of their styles [...] always incited comment. 'A Garden is a lovesome thing, God wot [knows],' wrote the Nineteenth-century poet Thomas Brown, and in the 1920s someone rang a change on the line: 'A Garland is a lovesome thing, Todd wot.' Dody was referred to as "Das Tod das Mädchens (The Death of the Maidens). And there was a 'joke': 'What is a Sapphist? ' 'A Doderast who practices Todomy.'[735]

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[731] Seebohm, Caroline, *The Man Who Was Vogue: The Life and Times of Condé Nast* p.125 cited in Reed, Christopher, "A *Vogue* That Dare Not Speak its Name: Sexual Subculture during the Editorship of Dorothy Todd, 1922-1926" in *Fashion Theory*, Volume 10, Issue 1 & 2 (London: Berg, 2006) pp.39-72 p.45

[732] ibid.

[733] Until the trial, the majority of the British public were unaware of same sex relationships. Leonard Woolf's mother stated: "until I read this book I did not know that such things went on at all. I do not think they do. I have never heard of such things."
Sourced from: http://www.courttheatre.org/season/article/sapphism_in_the_1920s/
accessed on 19th August 2013

[734] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.266

[735] ibid. p.26

From this account of the various innuendoes surrounding Dorothy and Madge, it is quite clear that the couple were arousing, what Chase and Nasr regarded, as a worrying amount of attention from figures within the world of publishing. The two women — particularly Todd, whom Beaton crowned as "the *Vogue* Queen"[736] — were powerful within this sector. Attracting artists and writers to compose new material whilst simultaneously critiquing the work done on other pages by similar magazines, they dominated the commercial world of publishing, showcasing the best and the most innovative of writers, in a way in which no other editor was capable. Todd, like Crowninshield at *Vanity Fair* in New York, lived, breathed, dined with and cohabited within the very world she published in her magazine.

Garland — who was dismissed one day after Todd — retrospectively commented upon the circumstances of the dismissal from *Vogue*. In 1982 she said: "Cond*é* Nast was not above using the threat of exposure to avoid paying up for a broken contract."[737] "It is said," reported Woolf to Vanessa Bell, "that Nast threatened to reveal Todds [sic] private sins, if she sued them, so she is taking £1000 and does not bring an action."[738] This letter provides contemporary evidence to substantiate the claim made in the 1980s by Garland. Woolf's reporting also suggests that it was not only Todd's Sapphic relationship that motivated her acceptance of the financial settlement, nor was it only this that provided Nast with the leverage he required to remove Todd ahead of the expiration date of her contract. The existence of Helen — Todd's secret sin — and the awareness of her real parentage was another area in which exposure would mean downfall. Helen had been conceived and born out of wedlock, and at the time of the firing in 1926, would have still been unaware that Dody — or Dodo as she called her — was in fact, her Mother, not her Aunt. The amalgamation of the knowledge of both Todd's sexual relationship with Garland and

[736] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012)
[737] Garland, Madge, cited in Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.267
[738] Nicholson, Nigel [ed.] *A Change in Perspective: The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1977) p.295

her enfant naturel, Helen, were potent enough forces to instil fear of exposure into Todd and motivated her acceptance of Nast's financial pay off.

Nast and Chase hid behind the façades of revenue and success, which shielded them from being associated with the scandal of sexual liberalism and scandalous, single motherhood. Yoxall reports how the fall in circulation really had nothing to do with Todd, and even after her dismissal, the magazine failed to turn a profit until 1929. Even then, this small increase in revenue was achieved through the popularity of the *Vogue Pattern Book* rather than *Vogue* magazine proper. Yoxall also reported that the General Strike of 1926 provided adverse conditions for the growth of a magazine, recalling that his job "seemed like a game of snakes and ladders, with the snakes preponderating."[739] Records show that British *Vogue's* fortunes only began to improve in terms of its circulation and advertising revenue post 1932. It is with this knowledge that one wishes that the paperwork Yoxall references in his diary entry of August 1926 had survived. He records how details of the "Todd developments" could be found in his "files of private correspondence."[740] Suspiciously, these files, which from Yoxall's tone would doubtless reveal the real crux of the dismissal story, have never been found, and most likely, never will be.

There is little doubt that Chase and Nast were never really wholly concerned about British *Vogue's* success, but were instead, centrally preoccupied with Todd herself and what she represented. *Vogue* had to be protected from being tainted by the clandestine images which surrounded freedom in art, culture and sex. Yoxall's character profiling of Chase and Nast reveals a ruthlessness and a "ferocious concentration on *Vogue*"[741] above all else: "with [their] integrity came a probably unavoidable intransigency; no consideration for the feelings or time of [their] staff or contributors meant anything to [them] when the interests of the magazine were at

[739] Yoxall, Harry W. *A Fashion of Life* (London: Heinemann, 1966) p.126
[740] ibid. p.127
[741] ibid. p.82

stake."[742] I believe this contemporary character assessment proves my above suppositions to be at least partially true. It is also gratifying to cite evidence which demonstrates that Todd, did not empty her desk without dispute: "The lady [Dody] had a forceful personality and the sound of the wrench, when it came, reverberated from London to New York and back again."[743] It is satisfying to known that Todd created as much of an uproar about her dismissal as possible, revealing the same passion and dedication that stimulated her commitment to presenting the revolutionary uproar in the arts and literature she had showcased on *Vogue's* pages. Such fervour cannot be said to have been shared by the new editor of *Vogue* in 1926.[744] "When the long, shuddering roar [of Todd's anger at being removed] finally subsided," remembers Woolman Chase, "we were weak, Toddless, but headed for the *Vogue* formula."[745] The dominating pair found someone who was willingly moulded into the "correct image of a *Vogue* representative."[746] Alison Settle, the immaculate "*Vogue* representative" was charged with erasing the blot of Todd's inky-lectual legacy from the otherwise flawless histories of *Vogue*. She was editor for nine years until 1935 and is often mistakenly — and sadly — accredited as *Brogue's* first editor.

The removal of Todd from the editorial helm of *Vogue* also devastatingly marked her removal from pages of contemporary diaries and sheets of letter writing paper. These accounts, which had once brandished her name around among praises of her talent and vision, were now too hesitant to even mention her in passing. The case of Nast and Chase versus Todd and freedom, had the effect of socially shunning the most sociable and encouraging of women. The "party" to which everyone was invited within Todd's *Vogue* had been abruptly called to an end by a pair of complaining neighbours. Todd's *Vogue* pages had simply made too much noise about inappropriate subjects. Her personal persuasions and forceful personality had also disrupted the

[742] Yoxall, Harry W. *A Fashion of Life* (London: Heinemann, 1966) p.82
[743] Woolman Chase, Edna & Chase, Ilka, *Always in Vogue*. (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.132
[744] After a period of instability where Woolman Chase and Yoxall presided over editorial affairs at British *Vogue*, the post of editor was filled at the beginning of 1926.
[745] Woolman Chase, Edna & Chase, Ilka, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.132
[746] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.266

 [747]

Figure 88

Vogue formula. Nast and Chase saw it as their mission to restore order, to clean up the mess, and prohibit any further public proclamations from Dody. So poor Todd was silenced by her opposition, and charged with the sentence of never being mentioned again.

4.6 "The Bucket in the Well of Loneliness:"[748] Dody's Demise

> Women will sacrifice themselves in the interests of their work as men will never do.[749]

As editor of British *Vogue*, Todd had "reigned over certain aesthetic circles in London"[750] and was one of the key protagonists in the story of London modernism. After her controversial dismissal few of the people who had so admired her, benefitted from her position as editor and enjoyed

[747] Alison Settle.
Sourced from: http://arts.brighton.ac.uk/collections/design-archives/archives/alison-settle
accessed on 13th May 2014
[748] De Acosta, Mercedes, from Cecil Beaton, unpublished diaries, cited in Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.242
[749] Yoxall, Harry W. *A Fashion of Life* (London: Heinemann, 1966) p.172
[750] Beaton, Cecil, *Photobiography* (London: Odhams, 1951) p.34

themselves in her always welcoming home, wanted anything to do with her. In *A Novel of Thank-You* Gertrude Stein — with her usual characteristic obscurity — wrote:

> When Miss Todd came to see us, when Miss Todd came to see us, when Miss Todd came to see us.
>
> When Miss Todd came to see us.
>
> Who need never be mentioned.[751]

"Musing on Dody's personality, [Yoxall] predicted that she would "end up on the Embankment [i.e. in the gutter] one of these days, or in some similar situation""[752] and devastatingly, Yoxall's surmising was not far from the truth. The predicament Dody found herself in during the years after her dismissal form *Vogue* were far from befitting such an incredible innovator. Immediately following the dismissal, both Todd and Garland attempted to continue to hold the parties for which they had become known. Before too long, adversely effected by financial strain and social shunning, the couple were witnessed having explosive rows, often humiliatingly in front of an audience of those who had once so admired them. Dody increasingly became viewed as some "sort of Victorian father"[753] who ordered Madge around:

> Madge increasingly came home to find Dody passed out with an empty whiskey bottle beside her. Then the bills started coming in from businesses all over London — florists, dressmakers, galleries, restaurants — and she was confronted with Dody's catastrophic handling of money. She had been running up bills for years, on a scale that was almost lunatic.[754]

[751] Stein, Gertrude, *A Novel of Thank You* [1958] (Illinois: Dalkey Archive Edition, 2004) p.13
[752] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.265
[753] Tyner, Chloe, cited in Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.265
[754] ibid. p.269

Deceitfully, Todd had incurred debts in Garland's name as well as her own, and Madge was left to clear them whilst Dody remained drunk and depressed. Whilst Garland grabbed onto any freelance journalistic work she could find, Dody sat by, whiskey bottle in hand, and watched the bailiffs seize the valuables that had made their home so remarkable in previous years: "A painting by Vuillard that she had given Madge for her birthday was reclaimed by the gallery, as was a Duncan Grant portrait."[755] Drafts of Garland's memoir poignantly reveal that of all the products from the successful *Vogue* years, "only a few lovely and rather inappropriate clothes remained."[756]

After four years of relative poverty, Garland re-emerged on the female publications scene — she was writing for the newly merged *Britannia & Eve* as well as *The Bystander*. Todd also made an attempt to re-establish herself within the magazine world as the below citation from Yoxall's private diary reveals:

> Evidence reaches me of Todd's preparations to start a rival magazine, but I hear it will be weekly and that it will be backed by Lord Lathem. Both the latter rumours are encouraging. For she can never stand the racket of weekly editing, and he and his like can never supply the serious, sustained interest and purposefulness to establish a great publishing property. Whereas if she had a big organisation like that which was Ellerman's, or more particularly Hearst's, behind her it could be dangerous.[757]

Yoxall's words reveal a veiled compliment to Todd's talents as an editor as well as highlighting her apparent dislike of weekly editing. Nast was also to be reassured by the choice of Todd's financial aid. The tenacity with which Todd pursued this venture is documented by Woolf, who reports her

[755] Tyner, Chloe, cited in Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.269
[756] Garland, Madge, Memoir Drafts, Madge Garland Papers, Royal College of Art Archive. ibid. p.265
[757] Yoxall, Harry, diary entry of 7th November 1926 cited in Luckhurst, Nicola, *Bloomsbury in Vogue* (London: Cecil Woolf, Bloomsbury Heritage Series, 1998) p.22

"snuff[ing] pertinaciously after Bloomsbury,"[758] in an attempt to gain contributors. Woolf asks her sister, Vanessa if she intends to "draw for Todd" and reports to Harold Nicolson that, "a great deal of caballing is going on with Todd, Raymond [Mortimer] and Francis [Birrell]."[759] A letter from Todd to Lytton Strachey, reproduced in Chapter three, reveals Todd's determination to incorporate the Bloomsbury coterie into her new, nameless magazine. This perseverance was ridiculed by Woolf who condescendingly commented "the whole of London does nothing but talk about bringing out magazines"[760] and viewed Todd as "rather alarming,"[761] reminding her of "an extinct monster pushing through the mud: in [her] direction."[762] The "political rupture"[763] surrounding her dismissal had tarnished Todd, and any attempt to re-make her career would have been an uphill battle, a struggle which — as evident from the above citations — Woolf was not prepared to assist in. Despite the "not altogether gentlemanly way people had treated her when she stopped being able to have *Vogue,*"[764] demonstrated by Woolf's visceral contempt, Dody persisted. By 1928, Lord Lathem had pulled out of the venture and Todd was intent on funding the magazine herself, despite her mounting debt. The combination of the sheer amount of money she owed, the slanderous effects of Woolf's powerful word of mouth, and the scandal surrounding her dismissal from *Vogue*, ruined Todd's chance of success. The dream of releasing a publication to rival *Vogue* on the newsstands lay shredded in tatters at Dody's feet.

Raymond Mortimer, who had so resolutely stood behind Todd as her literary editor at *Vogue*, continued to support her as a friend. Together, the pair collaborated as editors on a new

[758] Bell, Ann Olivia & McNeillie, A [eds.] *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1975-1982) p.176
[759] Nicholson, Nigel [ed.] *A Change in Perspective: The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1977) p.460
[760] Bell, Ann Olivia & McNeillie, A [eds.] *The Diary of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1975-1982) p.176
[761] Nicholson, Nigel [ed.] *A Change in Perspective: The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1977) p.460
[762] ibid.
[763] Information gathered from Todd, Olivier, as cited in Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.343. Cohen also reports that during the war, Todd had a government job as a social worker.
[764] Todd, Olivier, ibid. p.344. The majority of her "friends" stopped visiting Todd in fear for their own reputations. Todd was also no longer able to give them publishing space and Olivier Todd's comment undoubtedly refers to the beneficial nature that a friendship with a *Vogue* editor would have had.

project. Published by Batsford in 1928, *The New Interior Decoration*, had a "prose style — at once breathless and precious in its sense of the modern age as 'profoundly different from any other in the history of the world' — is reminiscent of *Vogue*."[765] Indeed, it is not only this work's ability to emphasise the innovations of the modern spirit that strikes the reader. It also displays the same passion for creation and dedication for progress which epitomised Todd's *Vogue*. This love of art is seen through the snippets which remain regarding Todd's professional life, post *Vogue*. Cohen has it on good authority that "Dody ran a gallery for a short time in the 1930s"[766] Like Garland, Todd also hunted for freelance writing work after her dismissal. She published "Exotic Canvasses Suited to Modern Decoration" in June 1928 which appeared in *Arts and Decoration*. The article revolved around an interview she had conducted with her close friend and artist, Marie Laurencin. She also managed to make an appearance in *Architectural Review* with her article, "Marion Dorn: Architect of Floors." The latter was no small accomplishment given the review's notorious hesitancy to publish the work of female journalists.[767] Aside from these fleeting forays into the publication world, Todd also relied on her linguistic abilities to help her earn a living. She translated Le Corbusier's *Sur Les Quatre Routes* in 1947 as well as translating *Metternich* from the original work of Constantin de Grünwald in 1953.

Before abandoning London in the late 1950s, Dorothy Todd lived in "two messy, cat dominated rooms off the King's Road"[768] in Chelsea. It seems devastatingly ironic that a woman who had once edited the world's most famous fashion magazine should have projected her ruin publically through the state of her clothing: "she dressed in a motley outfit of floor length skirt, flat sandals, white blouse, and a man's tweed jacket, with pins holding the clothes together.""[769]

[765] Luckhurst, Nicola, *Bloomsbury in Vogue* (London: Cecil Woolf, Bloomsbury Heritage Series, 1998) p.23
[766] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.344
[767] Sourced from Peter, Bruce*, Form Follows Fun: Modernism and Modernity in British Pleasure Architecture 1925-1949* (London: Routledge, 2013) p.169
[768] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.343. I have located this address to have been 11 Coulson Street, Chelsea.
[769] ibid. p.343

Frail, destitute and depending on alcohol, Dody, her jumbled collection of "quotations on yellowing pages" and a head full of faded memories of the good times, moved from London to Cambridge. Close to her grandson who she had paid to send to university in the city and now in her sixties, she lived off a "small government pension,"[770] handouts from friends and money from her small family. She also interestingly continued to be able to draw money from the account set up before her daughter's birth. Olivier Todd reports that his grandmother used to spend this money on

> long-distance calls which put her in touch with other English adepts of Christian Science. To devote herself to its practices and its indispensible telephone communications — of such high spiritual tone and such evident effectiveness — she preferred to do without food, and even without the whisky which she used to drink on the sly at the local.[771]

Dody relished the intellectual ambiance of Cambridge and continued to socialise with those of the same creative and curious temperament as her own — she became friends with Iris Murdoch. In *Year of the Crab*, Olivier Todd comments, that "life is hard for a woman on her own"[772] but Dody kept her intellectual interests as close companions. Philosophy, art and literature continued to retain the highest places of importance in her life and she never stopped learning or educating others, in spite of her own dire situation. Olivier also reports that even towards the end of her life, before being admitted to the clinic in Cambridge where she died, Dody managed to entice a young Italian woman away from her husband.[773]

[770] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.344
[771] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.135
[772] ibid. p.112
[773] Olivier Todd cited in Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.344

In 1955, eleven years before her death, Richard Aldington, who had been a *Vogue* contributor during the Todd years, wrote to Eric Warman with regards to Dody's translation of Metternich: "At one time she edited the London *Vogue*. She stood me some good lunches. Is she in London? I wish I could help her."[774] By the middle of the 1950s then, Dorothy Todd was remembered as a hostess and little else. Aldington's brief mention of her also reveals how she was also viewed as having "ended up on the embankment,"[775] impoverished and alone. Aldington may have wished that he could have helped her, but few whom Dody had helped establish their career in the 1920s, would extend their help to her in her desperate state post-*Vogue*. The only person whom Todd continued to affect and remain influential to was her grandson. In *Year of the Crab*, Olivier Todd recalls the circumstances of Dorothy's death in 1966. His grandmother was eighty-three and Olivier does not state the cause of her death. Once again, we are left to surmise about some lingering disease on mention of a "clinic." Olivier recounts:

> I had spent three days at her bedside in the Cambridge clinic.
>
> "We don't know how long she'll last," a doctor said, so I started back for Paris. Early next morning I was given the news on the telephone that Dody was dead."[776] [...]"When Dody died in Cambridge, Maman and I, her daughter and grandson, shot through her funeral. She was in the clinic morgue. The mourners had to start from somewhere: so we met at Winifred Brulé's. Dody would have wanted a religious service, of course. Stupidly, a little ignobly — if one can be a *little* ignoble —we opted for a blessing over the grave. I've never been inside the cemetery since.[777]

[774] Gates, Norman, T [ed.] *Richard Aldington: An Autobiography in Letters* (Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 2008) p.277
[775] Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.265
[776] Todd, Olivier, *Year of the Crab* (London: Aiden Ellis, 1975) p.36
[777] ibid. p.115

Olivier may confess to not visiting Dody's grave since the day of her funeral, but her memory is a continual presence in his work as the citations throughout this chapter have shown.

4.7 "Good editors are hard to find and she was a great editor:"[778] Conclusion

It is the words of Woolf that reverberate behind the motivations for this chapter. In *Lives of the Obscure*, she comments upon the nature and purpose of biographical writing, stating:

> One likes romantically to feel oneself a deliverer advancing with lights across the waste of years to the rescue of some stranded ghost [...] waiting, appealing, forgotten, in the growing gloom.[779]

This sense of Dorothy Todd "waiting, appealing and forgotten," for someone to remember her and write her life, is not an image I can equate with her character. The fact that Todd refused to write her life story for both Woolf and her grandson, Olivier, reveal her hesitancy to leave a record. It has not been my intention to grab at the remnants of Todd's private life (which she evidently wanted to keep private) and brandish them about for the purpose of sensationalism. As Woolf wishes to feel like a "deliverer across the waste of years," this chapter has so aimed to present Todd based on the facts which remain and to explain why in the 1970s, Rebecca West eulogized her as a woman who was "full of genius."[780] This fascinating figure, who has been erased as a blot on the otherwise immaculate history of *Vogue*, contributed a great deal towards the history of magazines and of modernism during the 1920s and thus deserves to be acknowledged and discussed rather than flippantly overlooked.

[778] West, Rebecca, cited in Russell-Noble, J. [ed.] *Recollections of Virginia Woolf* (London: Peter Owen, 1972) p.90
[779] Woolf, Virginia "Lives of the Obscure" in McNeillie, Andrew [ed.] *The Essays of Virginia Woolf,* Volume 4: 1925-1928 (London: Hogarth Press, 1994) p.119
[780] West, Rebecca, cited in Russell-Noble, J. [ed.] *Recollections of Virginia Woolf* (London: Peter Owen, 1972) p.90

Not knowing how Dorothy Todd was eulogized, and not knowing how people spoke over her graveside, I wish to turn to the reminiscences of Garland to provide a note on which appropriately to end this chapter:

> she was a brilliant woman, absolutely brilliant [...] but erratic. She was a very strange character, and she had a fearful end. She was so gifted. She had the best and kindest of hearts. But she was a woman who ruined herself.[781]

Retrospectively, it is possible to see how it was perhaps, not Todd who ruined herself but rather the indoctrinations of time and of others that led to her demise. Todd was a woman who stood steadfastly and resolute behind her beliefs and ideas, who refused to compromise her convictions to suit another way of thinking. In a different time, a more embracing era, the figure of Dorothy Todd would not have been so vilified and abandoned, but celebrated for the innovations she made in magazines, remembered for the sponsoring of young talent that defined a literary and artistic generation and accepted — rather than embarrassingly glossed over — as the brilliant figure behind 1920s British *Vogu*e.

[781] Garland, Madge, cited in Cohen, Lisa, *All We Know: Three Lives* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2012) p.357

Chapter Five

A Room of Their Own:

The Literary Aesthetic of the Female Modernists in *Vogue*

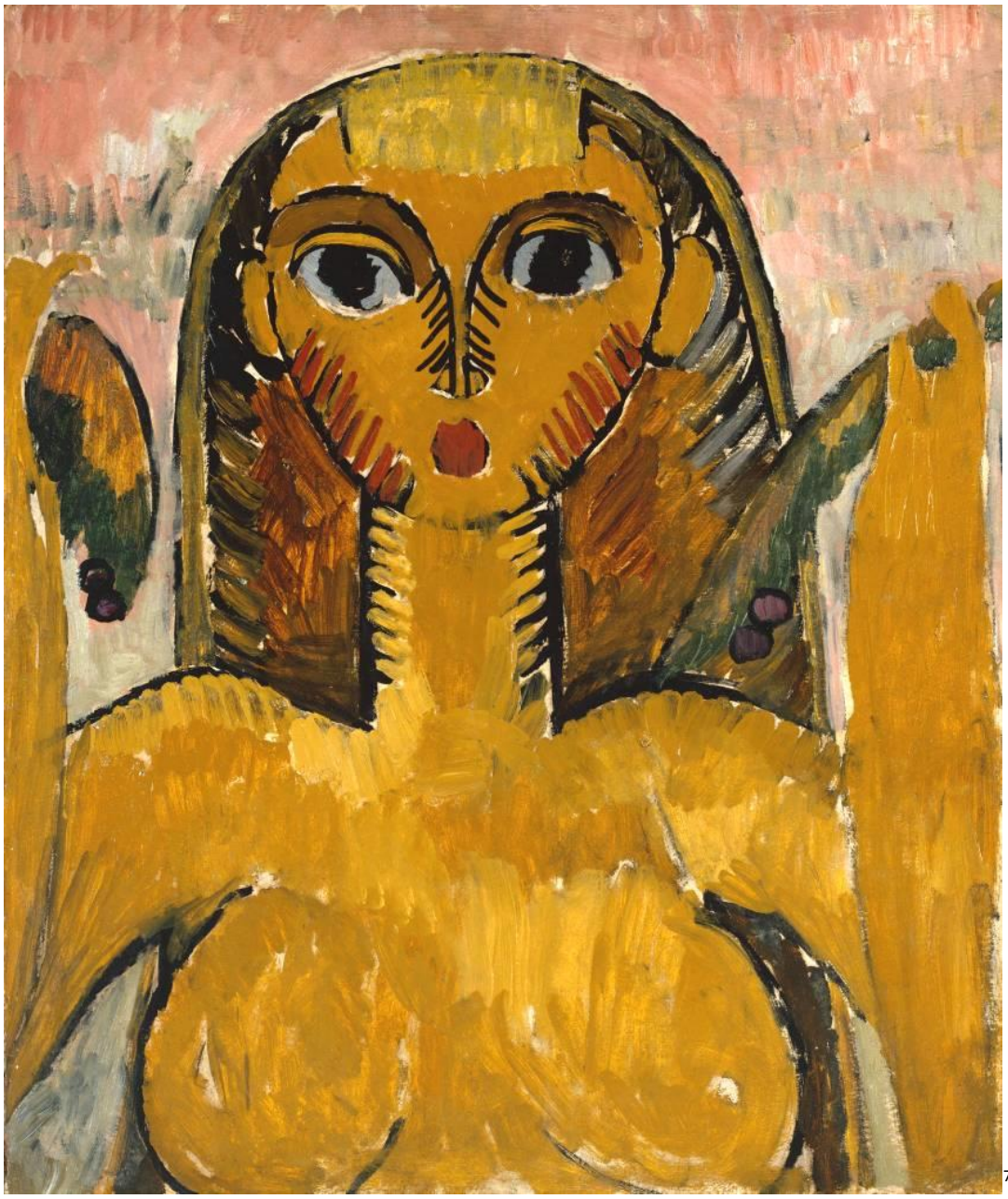
 [782]

Figure 89

[782] Grant, Duncan, "Head of Eve" 1913
Sourced from: http://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/grant-head-of-eve-t03847
accessed on 22nd May 2014
Gustave Le Bon terms the "male fear of woman and the bourgeois fear of the masses" as a fear of being "sphinxed." Sourced from Huyssen, Andreas, *Mass Culture as Woman: Modernism's Other* (1986) I believe this image by Grant portrays woman as the sphinx of ancient legend.

5.1 "*Vogue* and the Future"[783]: Chapter Introduction

In Virginia Woolf's 1929 feminist polemic *A Room of One's Own*, she famously declared: "a woman must have money and a room of her own if she is to write fiction."[784] Between 1922 and 1926, British *Vogue* not only became an outlet for modernist expression but gave women writers both an income and editorial equality. In its presentation and promotion of women writers, the magazine became a site for the expression of a new female literary aesthetic. Two of the leading innovators of this aesthetic; Virginia Woolf and Dorothy M. Richardson, were contributing writers for Dorothy Todd's *Vogue:* "sweeping guineas of [its] counter"[785] and using its pages to present this new feminine style. Under Todd, *Vogue* became a metaphorical "room" where these women, who sought to make a profession out of their creative and critical abilities were given the opportunity "to write what [they] like[d]."[786] I have already attempted to argue that *Vogue* during Todd's editorship was involved in the dialogue of the modernist magazines and from this earlier work it can be seen that *Vogue* was by no means an exclusively female arena — the work of the male modernists shared the space offered by this experimental forum. It is noteworthy that the fashion magazine which had initially been intended to attract the readership of both women and men and then had identified itself as a purely female publication, should revert under Todd to promote "civilisations in the mind"[787] of both male and female readers by promoting the contributions of both male and female writers. Todd's modernist experiment may be considered a failure because of its lack of longevity and her ultimate dismissal, but her promotion of a modernist ethos through the form of a fashion magazine was an innovation. Todd had taken a mass cultural entity with the renowned name of *Vogue* —identified as a feminine product because of its dedication to commodity culture and fashion— and neutralised the

[783] Section title taken from Richardson, Dorothy, "Women and the Future" *Vogue*, Early May 1924 p.32 & 70
[784] Woolf, Virginia, [1929] *A Room of One's Own & The Voyage Out* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics, 2012) p.29
[785] Woolf Virginia, diary entry of 27th June 1925 cited in, Bell, Ann Olivia & McNeillie, A [eds.] *The Diary of Virginia Woolf* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1980) p.34
[786] Woolf, Virginia to Logan Pearsall-Smith dated Wednesday 28th January 1925 cited in, Nicholson, Nigel [ed.] *A Change in Perspective: The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1977) p.158
[787] A.D. Moody cited in Bell, Quentin, [1968] *Bloomsbury* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson Ltd, 1986) p.11

editorial space. *Vogue* became a room of the modernists' own which was decorated with the words of both sexes.

Central to my identification of *Vogue* under Todd as a room of the modernists' own is also the acknowledgement that *Vogue* was part of contemporary and popular mass culture and thus, correlated with the feminine sphere.[788] In 1988, in relation to the gender divides inherent in the modernist project contextualised by Huyssen,[789] Sandra M. Gilbert and Susan Gubar put forward the idea that male and female writers of the early twentieth century were fighting for their position within contemporary literature. By the 1920s

> both sexes by and large agreed that women were winning [the female invasion of the public sphere as a battle of the sexes, a battle over a zone that could only be defined as a no man's land.][790]

Women, according to these two critics, may have indeed been gaining ground in relation to their advance into the literary field, but this did not diminish the masculine fear of further invasion, nor did it cause a masculine retreat. In the seminal, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism,* Andreas Huyssen draws upon the work of Gustave Le Bon, which he believes exemplifies the idea that "the fear of the masses in this age of declining liberalism is always also a fear of woman, a fear of nature out of control."[791] A raucous, opinionated mass are represented as a threat to rational and established order in the same way in which a vocal and active woman is considered a threat to established patriarchal hierarchy. In Huyssen's work, Le Bon's icon of the

[788] This paradigm is most notably analysed in Huyssen, Andreas, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1986)
[789] Huyssen acknowledges that "the powerful masculinist and misogynistic current within the trajectory of modernism, a current which time and time again openly states its contempt for women and for the masses."
[790] Gilbert, Sandra M. & Gubar, Susan, *No Man's Land: The Place of the Woman Writer in the Twentieth Century, Volume 1:The War of the Words* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988) p.4-5
[791] Huyssen, Andreas, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1986) p.52

sphinx represents the masculine fear of the masses and the associated fear of woman. Huyssen states that "modernism's own fears of being sphinxed [sic], the nightmare of being devoured by mass culture through co-option, commodification, and the “wrong” kind of success is the constant fear of the modernist artist."[792] Huyssen relates this social commentary to the specific ethics of modernism and his argument about modernism's fear of mass culture has since been reconsidered. *Vogue* exemplifies the willingness of many modernists to collaborate with products of mass culture rather than deliberately disassociate themselves from it. The dialogue between Virginia Woolf and American writer Logan Pearsall Smith of January 1925 aptly expresses modernism's fear of being "sphinxed" as well as modernism's attempt to engage with a wider audience. Woolf had begun writing for *Vogue* in the May prior to this "great wrangle."[793] On January 24th 1925 Woolf writes to Jacques Raverat:

> I've been engaged in a great wrangle with an old American called Pearsall Smith on the ethics of writing articles at high rates for fashion papers like *Vogue*. He says it demeans one. He says one must write only for the *Lit[erary] Supplement* and the *Nation* and Robert Bridges and prestige and posterity and to set a high example. I say bunkum.[794]

Woolf's account shows exactly the "nightmare of being devoured by mass culture through co-option, commodification, and the “wrong” kind of success" explored by Huyssen to be a part of the male modernist agenda. Woolf's obvious preoccupation with this issue leads her to ask Vita Sackville West, "do you write differently for different people?"[795] and she also questions Pearsall Smith whether her *Vogue* article "Indiscretions," "was inferior to or in any way differed from

[792] Huyssen, Andreas, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1986) p.53
[793] Woolf, Virginia to Logan Pearsall-Smith dated 29th January 1925 cited in, Nicholson, Nigel (ed.) *A Change in Perspective: The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1977) p.159
[794] ibid. p.154 Woolf, Virginia to Logan Pearsall-Smith dated 24th January 1925
[795] ibid. p.159

articles that [she] wrote for *The Nation*?"[796] By posing such questions to her correspondents, Woolf is really stating that she does not believe her writing style for *Vogue* to be any different from that she deploys in articles for other publications considered by Pearsall Smith to be "high-brow." Woolf in another letter to Pearsall Smith provocatively boasts: "Duncan [Grant's] argument is that if Bloomsbury has real pearls, they can be scattered anywhere without harm [...] Todd's prices are exactly the same as the *Nation's*."[797] Interestingly it is a fellow *Vogue* contributor of the male sex who reassures Woolf that good writing is good wherever it may appear. His opinion also demonstrates the same kind of camaraderie and united stance that Todd's *Vogue* does. Grant's gender, and his alignment with Woolf demonstrates what I will explore throughout this chapter — that male and female writers had the ability to combine their thoughts and ideas in the modernist era and —at *Vogue* at least— were not necessarily engaged in the battle over a publishing "no man's land." Instead, both sexes could cohabit within a room of their own in the form of the unbiased and undiscriminantory editorial space *Vogue* offered them.

During a time when women had to fight, adapt and even write under male pseudonyms to gain entry into a literary public sphere, how was it that so many of them found themselves able "to write what [they] like[d]."[798] on Todd's pages? I believe that the answer to this question lies in the preconceptions that had been formed and fostered around *Vogue* since its inception in America and its subsequent arrival in England. Todd was able to camouflage her modernist agenda behind the *Vogue* brand, blending innovations in writing with innovations in style and fashion. In 1922 readers were not initially purchasing *Vogue* for its engagement with and promotion of culture, but by 1926, *Vogue* had been re-defined and considered as an "advanced literary and social review."[799] It was this camouflaging of her real intentions that enabled Todd to

[796] Woolf, Virginia to Logan Pearsall-Smith dated 29th January 1925 cited in, Nicholson, Nigel (ed.) *A Change in Perspective: The Letters of Virginia Woolf,* Volume III (London: Hogarth Press, 1977) p.157
[797] ibid. 29th January 1925 p.159
[798] idem.
[799] Woolman Chase, Edna, *Always in Vogue* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1954) p.130

print the works of female writers and critics with limited opposition and also which encouraged them to write for her. This chapter will be dedicated to the work of the female voices found in *Vogue* with three in particular bought to the fore of attention: Dorothy Richardson, followed by Virginia Woolf and lastly Polly Flinders — the pseudonym for the writer Mary Hutchinson. I wish to first examine exactly what is meant by the term "female literary aesthetic" in the context of the 1920s in order to identify its presence within the pages of Todd's *Vogue.* I wish to highlight how each of the articles penned by these influential modernist women writers represent the change in the dominant patriarchal systems of writing. I also aim to explore Todd's motivations for promoting this feminine style in the pages of her free-thinking magazine.

5.2 Lifting the Veil: Dorothy Richardson in *Vogue*

In order to begin exploring the female literary aesthetics of the early 1900s, one must explore the literary work, ideas and beliefs of Dorothy Richardson whom Fullbrook accredits as being one of the "pioneers"[800] of modernism and one of its "finest"[801] representatives. Richardson's approach was focused upon the feminine art of creating atmosphere and the distinction between consciousness and experience. An exploration of Richardson's attempt to "produce a feminine equivalent of [...] masculine realism[802] enable us to understand why hers was an "outspokenly feminine version of modernism."[803] After an initial outlining of the central ideas of Richardson's feminine style, I will progress to use her article "Women and the Future" — printed in *Vogue* in Early May 1924 — to demonstrate the promotion of these ideals in print.

[800] Fullbrook, Kate, *Free Women: Ethics and Aesthetics in Twentieth-Century Women's Fiction* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990) p.114
[801] Ibid.
[802] Richardson, Dorothy, [1915] "Foreword to Pilgrimage" *Pilgrimage* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd, 1938) p.9
[803] Kime-Scott, Bonnie, [ed.] *The Gender of Modernism*: *A Critical Anthology* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990) p.394

In 1920, Virginia Woolf wrote: "I have the feelings of a woman but I have only the language of men,"[804] and in so doing she expressed a frustration which was present within the minds of female writers and artists during this time. Language was deemed to be a masculine construct and was therefore restrictive to female expression. It was felt that this male language could not be adequately used to express the female consciousness. A new appropriate form of literature thus evolved to express the female voice and the female consciousness. As Deborah Parsons examines in her work *Theorists of the Modern Novel:*

> the consideration of a 'female' literary style dominates Woolf's discussion of contemporary women's fiction in *A Room of One's Own*. Previously, she argues, women writers have only had available to them the language of men. Only in the twentieth century, she suggests, has the woman writer begun to mould "a prose style completely expressive of her mind."[805]

In her 1920 essay "Women and Fiction," Woolf explained the context for this need for a feminine writing style. Change in the status quo of the 1900s evolved the female position so that she was no longer to be "condemned [...] to squint askance at things through the eyes or through the interests of husband or brother."[806] Literary critics such as Kaplan have identified that in the period between 1900 and 1925 two movements — the literary and the social — "reached their climax and converged."[807] The literary experimentation of the modernists in terms of the developments in writing consciousness met alongside "the feminist struggle for equality and independence."[808] This context for the literary development of this feminine literary aesthetic

[804] Woolf, Virginia, "Men and Women" [1920] Woolf takes this quotation from Thomas Hardy's *Far From the Madding Crowd.* Sourced from Ratcliffe, Krista, *Anglo-American Feminist Challenges to the Rhetorical Traditions: Virginia Woolf, Mary Daly, Adrienne Rich* (Illinois: Southern Illinois University Press, 1995) p.42
[805] Parsons, Deborah, *Theorists of the Modern Novel* (Oxford: Routledge, 2007) p.91
[806] Woolf, Virginia "Women and Fiction" [1920] in Bradshaw, David, [ed.] *Selected Essays* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008) p.138
[807] Kaplan, Sydney Janet, *Feminine Consciousness in the Modern British Novel* (Illinois: Southern Illinois Press, 1975) p.1
[808] ibid.

created a dichotomy between “achieving some degree of economic and social freedom [whilst also] conforming to traditional concepts of femininity.”[809] It was in this climate of contrasting roles, that the novel of female consciousness was conceived. Women novelists realised that the current Balzacian realist novel was unsuitable for the expression of these cultural shifts because “the larger share of the conflict lay beneath the surface within their divided consciousness.”[810] This inner tumult incensed the woman writer of the early 1900s to develop “a prose style completely expressive of her mind.”[811] The discussion which Parsons identifies in *A Room of One’s Own* however, was happening at least a decade prior to its publication in 1929. Showalter, in *A Literature of Their Own* has argued that this female literary aesthetic was a response to the militancy of the Great War. Showalter explains that among contemporary writers of the 1920s it was believed that “the literature of women had finally emancipated itself from its cultural subjection to a male tradition, and that its historical moment had arrived.”[812] Sally Ledger has observed how the New Woman fiction was deployed to adequately articulate women's "complex presence in the [new] cultural landscape"[813] and thus contributed to the female "proto-modernist" cause. Central to its development was the voice of Richardson, who more than any other female writer claimed in her works that “the entire tradition of the English novel had misrepresented feminine reality,”[814] and she thus developed an intrinsically female version of realism of her own. Scott McCracken identifies Richardson as a New Woman of the 1890s through the knowledge of her pursuit of work in the "growing white collar sectors opening up to women in London"[815] at this time. I wish to turn, as indeed do both Parsons and Showalter, to R. Brimley

[809] Kaplan, Sydney Janet, *Feminine Consciousness in the Modern British Novel* (Illinois: Southern Illinois Press, 1975) p.1
[810] ibid.
[811] Woolf, Virginia, [1929] *A Room of One’s Own & Three Guineas,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) p.124
[812] Showalter, Elaine, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Charlotte Brontëto Doris Lessing* (London: Virago, 1982) p.241
[813] Ledger, Sally, *The New Woman: Fiction and Feminism at the Fin de Siècle* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997) p.181
[814] Showalter, Elaine, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Charlotte Brontëto Doris Lessing* (London: Virago, 1982) p.256
[815] McCracken, Scott, *Masculinities, Modernist Fiction and the Urban Public Sphere* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007) p.25

Johnson's 1920 critical essay, to explain exactly what was meant by this new realism. In *Some Contemporary Novelists (Women),* Johnson states:

> The new woman, the female novelist of the twentieth century, has abandoned the old realism. She does not accept observed revelation. She is seeking, with passionate determination, for that Reality which is behind the material, [...] ultimate Truth. And here she finds man an outsider, wilfully blind, purposefully indifferent.[816]

"That Reality" was what Richardson — and indeed Woolf — were striving to express. By being based upon the language that had been constructed by and for the especial use of men, women writers were "claiming that the entire tradition of the English novel had misrepresented feminine reality."[817]

> Richardson maintained that men and women used different languages, or rather the same language with different meanings […] she implies that women communicate on a higher level: in using the language — the "words", as she says — of men, they limit themselves.[818]

"Ultimate truth" could only be found within feminine writing through both aesthetic principles and narrative construction. By writing in a particular way, Richardson and in turn other female modernist writers could express the notion that women could hold multiple opinions and different values simultaneously. I wish to first consider the structural and linguistic techniques and tools utilised by Richardson which were identified by Woolf to make up "the psychological

[816] Johnson, Brimley, *Some Contemporary Novelists (Women)* (London: Books for Libraries Press, 1920) p.xiv-xv
[817] Showalter, Elaine, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Charlotte Brontëto Doris Lessing* (London: Virago, 1982) p.256
[818] ibid. p.258-259

sentence of the feminine gender."[819] Woolf's definition of this feminine sentence goes a long way in explaining Richardson's linguistic formula. It is, she outlines

> a sentence of a more elastic fibre than the old, capable of stretching to the extreme, of suspending the frailest particles, of enveloping the vaguest shapes. Other writers of the opposite sex have used sentences of this description and stretched them to the extreme. But there is a difference. Miss Richardson has fashioned her sentence consciously, in order that it may descend to the depths and investigate the crannies of Miriam Henderson's consciousness. It is a woman's sentence, but only in the sense that it is used to describe a woman's mind by a writer who is neither proud nor afraid of anything she may discover in the psychology of her sex.[820]

By writing with a combination of "lack of punctuation, use of ellipses, and fragmented sentences,"[821] Richardson was able to express how women's minds were "capable of being all over the place and in all camps at once."[822] Such lack of syntactic structure not only signified Richardson's belief in this "refusal to structure consciousness [and] refusal to impose any pattern or system on being"[823] but also points to a very specific author—reader relationship which was also present in Todd's *Vogue*. In Richardson's *roman fleuve* one notes the increase in "the attention demanded from the reader in deciphering prose that purposefully works against conventions of easy accessibility and immediate clarity."[824] Returning to Brimley Johnson, in part where he identifies the 'new' literature of women to find "man an outsider, wilfully blind, purposefully indifferent," we are again reminded of the fact that the language which had been

[819] Woolf, Virginia, cited in, Showalter, Elaine, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Charlotte Brontëto Doris Lessing* (London: Virago, 1982) p.260
[820] ibid.
[821] idem.
[822] ibid. p.252
[823] ibid. p.260-261
[824] Fullbrook, Kate, *Free Women: Ethics and Aesthetics in Twentieth Century Women's Fiction* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990) p.115

[825]

Figure 90

[825] Ray, Man, "Dorothy Richardson" 1930
Sourced from:
http://theanatomyofmelancholy.tumblr.com/post/5589338236/writer-dorothy-richardson-born-may-17-1873
accessed on 23rd May 2014

constructed by the patriarchal systems of the past, was no longer appropriate to female expression — and even less suited to the expression of a feminine consciousness by a feminine authorial voice — by the early 1920s. Within her fictional prose Richardson worked on eliminating not only the structures imposed upon women's writing by their male counterparts, but also the deliberately omnipotent and dominating male authorial voice which forced, condescendingly, the reader to view his characters and events in exactly the way the author dictated. Richardson's characterization was not reliant upon such a forceful coercion, but instead upon an amiable collaboration between author and reader which was intended to "discover the quality of life as it is being lived by her character."[826] Through this technique Richardson did indeed view the male author as not only blind, but detrimentally deaf to the characters' "state of being."[827] Richardson's narrative guided the reader into the mind of her character and left her open to the interpretation of the readers own imagination. This relationship Richardson created between her character and her reader also exemplified exactly what Woolf meant when she identified the difference between Richardson's "elastic" sentence and those deployed by "other writers of the opposite sex." There is no distinction between the voice of Richardson as author and the voice of her characters within her fiction. Her "elastic" uncontained narrative strove to exist as what Gillespie identifies as "inseparable from that of her characters consciousness."[828] This form of writing which elevated the status of the reader to that of collaborator to the author also reveals the tendency of this particular female literary aesthetic to define itself as "an invisible art of creating atmosphere."[829] In Richardson's mind, this was an artistic accomplishment that only women could hope to achieve and is an ability which enabled the *consciousness* of character to maintain prominence above the e*xperiences* of a character. Simply speaking, this female literary aesthetic

[826] Gillespie, Diane F. [ed.] "Dorothy Richardson" in Kime-Scott, Bonnie, [ed.] *The Gender of Modernism*: *A Critical Anthology* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990) p.395
[827] ibid. p.396
[828] ibid. p.395
[829] Showalter, Elaine, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Charlotte Brontëto Doris Lessing* (London: Virago, 1982) p.259

was concerned with insight rather than actions. In her article, "The Reality of Feminism,"[830] Richardson makes the following proclamation:

> A fearless constructive feminism will re-read the past in the light of its present recognition of the synthetic consciousness of woman; will recognise that this consciousness has always made its own world, irrespective of circumstances. It can be neither enslaved nor subjected. Man, the maker of formulae, has tried in vain, from outside, to 'solve the problem' of woman. […] Woman has remained curiously untroubled and complete. He has hated and loved and feared her as mother nature, feared and adored her as the unattainable, the Queen of Heaven; and now, at last, nearing the solution of the problem, he turns to her as companion and fellow pilgrim, suspecting in her relatively undivided harmonious nature an intuitive solution of the quest that has agonised him from the dawn of things.[831]

According to Richardson the innate consciousness of women could never be subjected to male dominance and gender hierarchies and because of his preoccupation with "solving the problem of woman [from the] outside" man has overlooked the power that women express within themselves. It was the innate power of the female sex that this literary aesthetic concerned itself with portraying. Brimley Johnson's naming of the modern female as "new" because of this emphasis on the element of the feminine consciousness, is fundamentally flawed, and is rebutted by Richardson in her *Vogue* article, "Women and the Future."

[830] Richardson, Dorothy "The Reality of Feminism" cited in Kime-Scott, Bonnie, [ed.] *The Gender of Modernism*: *A Critical Anthology* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990) p.401-407
[831] ibid. p.406

Richardson's "Reality of Feminism" piece also expresses — in the last three lines cited above — the contextual background from which this female literary aesthetic can said to have been conceived. Showalter states:

> By 1910 […] advanced women like Dorothy Richardson could move freely in social atmospheres previously closed to them; they could enjoy a masculine range of sexual and professional experiences. […] They had fought to have a share in male knowledge; getting it, they decided that there were other ways of knowing. And by 'other' they meant 'better;' the tone of the female aesthetic usually wavered between the defiant and the superior.[832]

By being able to participate in the sphere of literature as not only readers but as writers and critics, women were becoming the "fellow pilgrims" of the male modernists. By 1910, women were no longer only the companions of men, but were also becoming their equals in their professional lives. Men, Richardson predicted, will "turn to women […] suspecting in her relatively undivided harmonious nature an intuitive solution of the quest that has agonised him from the dawn of things." This "quest" however, provoked yet another conflicting element in the relationship between men and women as creators and creative subjects. Despite having developed her argument in the early 1980s, Showalter remains, in my opinion, the best source for information with regards to this particular female struggle. Showalter identified that during this particular period within the history of literature a "tension between the novelists' lives as women and their commitment to literature"[833] was provoked. Through her work she explains that "women found themselves pulled apart by the conflicting claims of love and art."[834] What is noteworthy with regards to *Vogue* here is its willingness to incorporate the voices of these

[832] Showalter, Elaine, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Charlotte Brontëto Doris Lessing* (London: Virago, 1982) p.257
[833] ibid. p.244
[834] ibid. p.245

women writers. *Vogue* acted as a vessel for uniting male and female writers and treated both sexes equally. It was also the personal relationships that were encouraged, fostered and nurtured by Todd and Garland amongst their contributors that made *Vogue* a forum of equality. Writing for Todd's *Vogue,* was not the same for Woolf for example, as writing for the *Times Literary Supplement* — the latter may have given her the money she needed to peruse her literary occupation, but the former offered the "room" of her own she desired. *Vogue* under Todd, revolved around a familial binding: Virginia enjoyed a close personal relationship with Todd, as well as an active professional one. This personal relationship was something that Dorothy Todd cultivated into her role as editor. There are many accounts of how lunch parties would be held with possible contributors, catering to individual needs and personalities:

> She had an extraordinary gift for making people feel that they, and only they could write about a particular subject. She had the ability to approach the right person in the right way and managed to persuade most of the literary figures of the day to contribute.[835]

Madge Garland's anecdote involving Virginia Woolf is the best example to emphasise the personal nature of Todd's recruitment methods. Garland remembers:

> Virginia wrote an occasional article for *Vogue* and she, Dody Todd and I sometimes lunched together when they were in the process of being commissioned. […] The luncheon parties involved with commissioning the articles always provided the most pleasant part of our day. Dody studied the likes and dislikes of her guests very carefully; she remembered that Virginia hated going into restaurants and much preferred to have lunch in a house or flat with people whom she knew. While thinking how best to overcome this unusual situation, she mentioned Virginia's dislike of restaurants to a

[835] Garland, Madge, cited in Russell Noble, Joan, (ed.*) Recollections of Virginia Woolf* (London: Peter Owen, 1972) p.173

friend of hers, Marcel Boulestin. At this time Marcel was music critic for the French newspaper, *Les Temps*; he had a flat in Southampton Row where he cooked his favourite French dishes in his own kitchen. He disliked English food — saying it was badly cooked and so dull. When Marcel heard about Virginia's antipathy towards restaurants he suggested he should arrange the whole meal and that the luncheon party should be held in his flat. It was a marvellous idea. Dody knew that the food would be superb and the surroundings suitable to the occasion. In the end, Marcel produced some splendid dishes, and his friend Robin Adair waited on us. Alan Walton, who was a well known and talented artist, and the novelist Leo Myers were there too. The party was a great success and Virginia enjoyed herself enormously. After this happy luncheon party we said to Marcel that it would be wonderful if he owned a small restaurant to which all of us would go just to meet and enjoy meals arranged by him. And this is what happened. Leo Myers, who was rich, put up the money. Marcel took over some small premises in Leicester Square and Alan Walton did the decoration. It was just for French food and was so small that it was really like a club; we never went there without knowing everyone, which was one of its great charms. And so it was partly owing to Virginia and her dislike of restaurants that Marcel started his own unique restaurant, *Boulestin's*, which was to become so famous in later years.[836]

[836]Garland, Madge, cited in, Russell Noble, Joan, (ed.*) Recollections of Virginia Woolf* (London: Peter Owen, 1972) p.173

 [837]

Figure 91

[837] Marcel Boulestin demonstrating on the BBC, 1st January 1938
Sourced from:
http://www.corbisimages.com/stock-photo/rights-managed/AALJ001366/gardener-ch-middleton-and-chef-marcel-boulestin
accessed on 23rd May 2014
Cecil Beaton praised *Boulestin's* as the "prettiest restaurant in London" owing to its circus themed murals by Laboureur and Marie Laurencin and fabrics by Raol Dufy. Duncan Grant was also one of the interior decorators. In *The Restaurants of London* guide of 1928, *Boulestin's* was described as: "a modern Parisian restaurant in decoration and a luxurious one at that. […] In a prominent place is an immense bottle of 1869 liquor brandy de la maison, a graceful reminder that the place studies drink equally with meat." Virginia Woolf, interestingly also sent her cook, Miss Nellie Boxall for cooking lessons held by Boulestin at Fortum and Masons, Piccadilly, London. Sourced from Light, Alison, *Mrs Woolf and her Servants: The Hidden Heart of Domestic Service* (London: Penguin, 2007) Boulestin was also a regular *Vogue* contributor during Todd's editorship, writing on all things relevant to hosting and cuisine. He published multiple articles and a regular feature titled "The Finer Cooking."

CONCERNING THE CONDUCT OF THE KITCHEN

An Examination of the Menu for a Week, Showing How by Careful Arrangement Everything Can be Used Without Waste And Tempting Meals Contrived at a Very Moderate Cost

By X. MARCEL BOULESTIN

This is the second article on the Conduct of the Kitchen, showing that it is possible by good management to live well at very moderate expense. The first article appeared in the Early February issue of Vogue

LET us now examine in detail the menu for the week which I gave as a specimen in my last article. We start on Monday morning with nothing at all in the larder, which, of course, would not happen in the ordinary run of things.

The hors d'œuvre is *salade rhénane*, which is very pleasant and costs very little if properly bought; by which I mean that it is useless to buy more than a few pennyworth of fillets of herrings and ham, which are the principal ingredients of this dish (the rest being one apple and a few cold boiled potatoes). The main dish, *rognons sautés* with *pommes paysanne*, also costs very little, and we finish as we do every day, by cheese and fruit; fruit being apples, bananas, tangerines, figs and nuts.

THE CHOICE OF CHEESE

As for cheese, I should recommend buying something really good (none of that cheap cheddar which tastes like soap) *and large*; little bits of odd cheeses bought every other day are far more costly and very unsatisfactory. Half a Wensleydale or (if there are five or six people in the household) half a Stilton is far better, also more economical; that half which costs from twelve to fifteen shillings will see you through at least four weeks, perfectly fresh and creamy to the end. It is also very useful to have such a cheese in the house in case of unexpected guests; it will make an admirable finish to a possibly short meal.

Early in the day your cook has, of course, begun her *pot-au-feu*, which needs, to be good, about seven or eight hours' cooking. It requires attention for one hour, at the beginning because of the skimming, the proper time to add the vegetables, etc. During that hour she can also make the little *pots de crème* for the evening, because they are all the better if they are done early, also because then she has practically finished her cooking for the day. She can do so easily, since the preparations for luncheon are only a question of, say, three-quarters of an hour. When the evening sweet is cooling in the larder and the soup simmering and looking after itself, she can, if she likes and if you do not object—and why should you if the work is done to your satisfaction?—go and have a strong cup of tea with her friends, as the rest of the dinner can easily be done in the three-quarters of an hour before dinner-time.

The *pot-au-feu* must be made with the cheapest parts of the beef—the end of the ribs or something of the kind; what is commonly called "stewing steak" is not much use, being too dry to make a succulent soup and to be used pleasantly afterwards for made-up dishes. There will be enough

Menu for A Week

MONDAY

LUNCHEON
Salade Rhénane
Rognons sautés
Pommes paysanne
Cheese and fruit

DINNER
Consommé aux pâtes
Escalopes de Veau au citron
Pommes sautées
Salade de chicorée
Petits pots de crème

TUESDAY

LUNCHEON
Spaghetti
Bœuf vinaigrette
Cheese and fruit

(Continued on page 90)

consommé for Monday and Wednesday (to vary, on Tuesday we will have vegetable soup). There will be also enough meat out of the beef to make luncheon dishes for Tuesday and Wednesday, which means that these meals will cost practically nothing. For the *pots de crème* you use two, or possibly three, yolks of eggs, the whites being kept for the *mousse au chocolat* for Wednesday evening.

In the evening the rest of the dinner to be prepared consists of *escalopes* of veal, potatoes and a salad. You use, of course, only the nice white part of the salad, but you do not throw away the outside leaves, as they will be wanted later.

A SIMPLE LUNCHEON

The luncheon Tuesday is a simple affair—a few spaghetti and a *vinaigrette* made with half the beef from the soup. For dinner, in the *soupe aux choux* you put, of course, a piece of nice bacon (smoked or unsmoked according to taste), which gives flavour to the cabbage and will come in useful twice later. The *pilaf* is made with three handfuls of rice, raisins, sweet red peppers (two out of a small tin, and do not leave the rest in the tin), a few bits of bacon, and small pieces of veal left over from the *escalopes*, lightly fried in butter and paprika; for the endive *meunière* you buy two pounds of endives ("Belgian" endives), half of which will do for your dish, the other half for the salad of Wednesday luncheon. This dinner, by the way, can also be prepared in about one hour if the *soupe aux choux* is begun in the morning.

The luncheon on Wednesday costs absolutely nothing; it is made up of the rest of the beef, done *au gratin*, and a salad of the rest of the endives and the rest of the red peppers. For the dinner we have our first expensive dish, a chicken. The soup is the rest of the *consommé* treated with a little grated cheese, for a change. The chicken we have roasted with *pommes paille* and salad; then we have a delicious dish made of all the outside leaves of all the salads you have had, Monday, Tuesday and to-night. In a dark place they keep all right; you revive them in cold water for twenty minutes, then put them in boiling salted water, cook them well, drain and chop them, adding seasoning, a little butter, and cream and milk mixed and serve as a purée with fried *croûtons*. And for the *mousse au chocolat* you use the whites of eggs left over and about one shillingsworth of cream—out of which you take a little for the cooked salad.

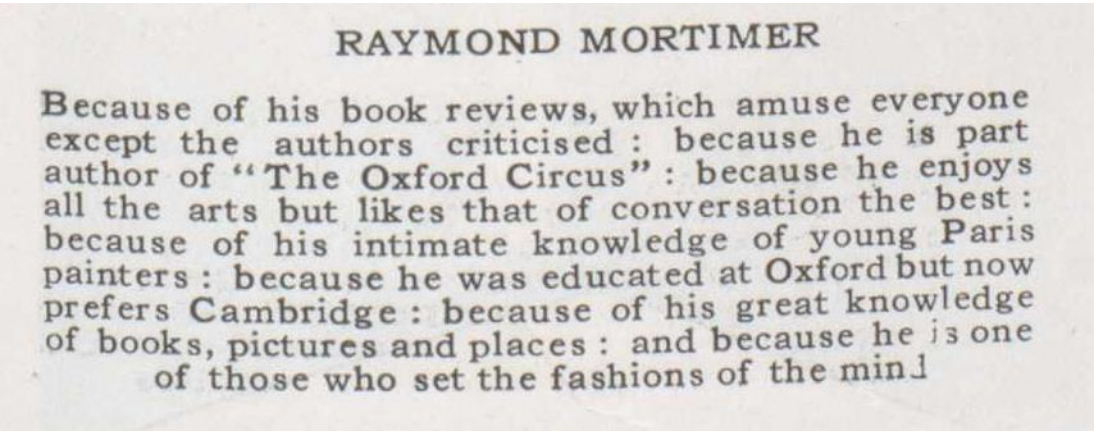
Thursday, we begin luncheon with a little celeriac *en salade*, then some of the best pieces left out of the chicken served with slices of bacon from the *soupe aux choux* and fried potatoes. For dinner a vegetable soup made of a few onions and tomatoes; boiled turbot with a sauce and whatever meat is left or can be scraped off the chicken. (Continued on page 90)

838

Figure 92

838 Boulestin, Marcel, X, "Concerning the Conduct of the Kitchen," *Vogue*, Late February 1925 p.64

— both male and female in equal measure. This regular piece — borrowed but not duplicated directly from Frank Crowninshield's American *Vanity Fair* — was different from the critical appraisal which might have been expected of such a feature. Every two weeks, "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame" praised, respectably and admirably the contributions of the individuals who were attempting to revolutionise the arts and advance scientific learning.


RAYMOND MORTIMER

Because of his book reviews, which amuse everyone except the authors criticised: because he is part author of "The Oxford Circus": because he enjoys all the arts but likes that of conversation the best: because of his intimate knowledge of young Paris painters: because he was educated at Oxford but now prefers Cambridge: because of his great knowledge of books, pictures and places: and because he is one of those who set the fashions of the mind

[839]

Figure 93

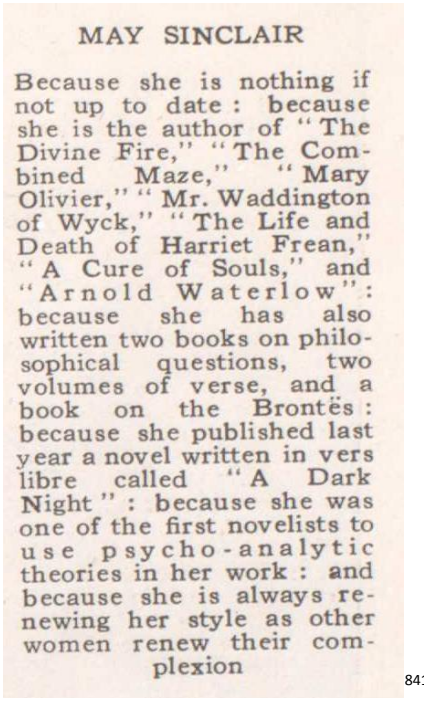
Figures 91 and 92 reveal this equality, as *Vogue* applauds the work of both Raymond Mortimer and May Sinclair. These exemplars also reveal the personal relationship between contributor (Mortimer and Sinclair) and editor (represented by the written content of the "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame" feature.) In the same edition, the work of Henri Matisse and Theodore Komisarjevsky is also highlighted with the same balance of the professional and the personal.

In his autobiography, titled, *Photobiography*, Cecil Beaton acknowledged the way in which *Vogue* under Todd was acclaimed amongst those the magazine itself praised. He states:

> At Cambridge each issue of *Vogue* was received as an event of importance, and when one day Miss Todd wrote to me from her Mount Olympus home in Bloomsbury inviting me to

[839] Anonymous, "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame" *Vogue*, Late February 1925 p.65

photograph some of the poets and writers she had unearthed in the neighbourhood of the University City, I felt I was on the road to fame.[840]


MAY SINCLAIR

Because she is nothing if not up to date: because she is the author of "The Divine Fire," "The Combined Maze," "Mary Olivier," "Mr. Waddington of Wyck," "The Life and Death of Harriet Frean," "A Cure of Souls," and "Arnold Waterlow": because she has also written two books on philosophical questions, two volumes of verse, and a book on the Brontës: because she published last year a novel written in vers libre called "A Dark Night": because she was one of the first novelists to use psycho-analytic theories in her work: and because she is always renewing her style as other women renew their complexion

[841]

Figure 94

This recalling of the contemporary situation *Vogue* existed within and which Todd created, demonstrates not only the editor's ability to foster and showcase new talents within the spheres of fine art and literature, but also the effect its twice monthly appearance had upon these new talents. Acknowledging Todd's creation of a *Vogue* cult of celebrity[842] is important, but these contemporary accounts are also indicative of sense of community and inclusion: "being in *Vogue* was being at the party."[843] Being published and involved in the *Vogue* coterie at this time was an outward demonstration of success and appreciation. Being published in *Vogue* was the chance to be included in the debate.

[840] Beaton, Cecil, *Photobiography* (London: Odhams Press, 1948) p.34
[841] Anonymous, "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame" *Vogue*, Late February 1925 p.65
[842] In her 2010 thesis, Lachmansingh argues that between 1922 and 1926, British *Vogue* "exposed its readers to literary celebrities." Lachmansingh, Sandhya, Kimberly, *"Fashions of the Mind:" Modernism and British Vogue under the Editorship of Dorothy Todd* (M.A. Dissertation, University of Birmingham, 2010) p.8
[843] Lee, Hermione, *Virginia Woolf* (London: Vintage, 1997) p.470

Late February

65

WE NOMINATE *for the* HALL *of* FAME

MAY SINCLAIR

Because she is nothing if not up to date: because she is the author of "The Divine Fire," "The Combined Maze," "Mary Olivier," "Mr. Waddington of Wyck," "The Life and Death of Harriet Frean," "A Cure of Souls," and "Arnold Waterlow"; because she has also written two books on philosophical questions, two volumes of verse, and a book on the Brontës; because she published last year a novel written in verse form called "A Defence of Idealism"; because she was one of the first novelists to use psycho-analytic theories in her work; and because she is always renewing her style as other women renew their complexion

THEODORE KOMISARJEVSKY

Because he is the most distinguished foreign producer whose work has been seen in England; because he has produced for the Stage Society plays by Hauptmann, Tchekhov and Pirandello; because he was the producer of the State Opera House at Moscow both before and after the Revolution; because he is one of the most remarkable writers on the theatre alive; and because he has just produced Mr. Arnold Bennett's new play, "The Bright Island"

RAYMOND MORTIMER

Because of his book reviews, which amuse everyone except the authors criticised; because he is part author of "The Oxford Circus"; because he enjoys all the arts but likes that of conversation the best; because of his intimate knowledge of young Paris painters; because he was educated at Oxford but now prefers Cambridge; because of his great knowledge of books, pictures and places; and because he is one of those who set the fashions of the mind

HENRI MATISSE

Because he is, with the exception of Picasso, the most famous of living painters; because, like most men of original genius, he was once considered either mad or a charlatan; because even the Luxembourg, most conservative of galleries, now has purchased work by him; because he has so many imitators and no rivals; because his painting is both witty and poetic; and because he has succeeded Anatole France as the chief contemporary representative of French civilisation

8

844

Figure 95

[844] Anonymous, "We Nominate for the Hall of Fame," *Vogue*, Late February 1925 p.65. Although May Sinclair is the sole female on this page, her placing at the top of the page puts her in a position of prominence.

"Women and the Future"[845] is Richardson's sole contribution to British *Vogue* and it is located near the beginning of the issue. The article has a verbose argument in comparison to the remainder of the content of the issue as well as a confrontational tone. Aside from one other article, titled 'Dreams' by an anonymous contributor, it is the only other non-clothing, and non-regular feature to be found within the Early May volume. Richardson's essay and the thoughts expressed within it thus dominate the issue. The female voice and viewpoint is foregrounded because of these decisions relating to editorial structure. The sub-heading to Richardson's article "Women and the Future," is "A Trembling of the Veil Before the Eternal Mystery of "La Giaconda."[846] It is important, in terms of enabling us to understand what Richardson meant by this, and indeed for understanding the article in its entirety, that we first establish the context of the image of the trembling veil. In the preface to the second part of his autobiographical series, W.B. Yeats writes:

> I have found in an old diary a quotation from Stéphane Mallarmé, saying that his epoch was troubled by the trembling of the veil of the Temple. As those words were still true, during the years of my life described in this book, I have chosen *The Trembling of the Veil* for its title.[847]

"The trembling of the veil in the temple" as Mallarmé identifies within his *Crise de Vers* (1896) refers to a change in the direction current literature. Mallarmé identifies it as "an exquisite crisis, a fundamental crisis"[848] and retrospectively we can identify this "crisis" as the beginnings oF

[845] Richardson's sole article for *Vogue* under Todd was also published in *Vanity Fair* in the issue of 22 April 1924 p.39-40
[846] Also known as the Mona Lisa by Leonardo da Vinci. Sourced from Chipp Browning, Herschel [ed.] *Theories of Modern Art: A Source Book by Artists and Critics* (California: University of California Press, 1968) p.203
[847] Preface to Yeats, W.B, *The Trembling of the Veil* (1922)
Sourced from: http://www.gutenberg.org/files/33505/33505-h/33505-h.htm
accessed on 21st January 2013
[848] Llyod, Rosemary, *Mallarmé: The Poet and his Circle,* (United States: Carnell University Press, 1999) p.227

symbolism.[849] Yeats travelled to Paris in the 1890s, was "introduced into the Mallarmé circle and wrote the major essay, *The Symbolism of Poetry*[850] in 1900.

Richardson's childhood background is itself interesting in relation to her "Women and the Future" article. Richardson once claimed that "the dark veil under which I grew up" to be the "shadow of male scientific philosophy."[851] Richardson's reference to "a dark veil" and more so one which she associates with masculine knowledge, is significant in relation to the development of her own distinctive feminine literary aesthetic. Richardson here identifies "scientific philosophy" to be a masculine domain which is dominated by masculine discoveries, masculine regulations and masculine restrictions on knowledge. This sphere — a "dark veil" — was symbolically as well as literally closed to her as a woman. The symbol of the "trembling veil" indicates that the 1920s explorations *by* women for the benefit *of* women in literature and the arts were intended to threaten the sphere and remove its restrictions — to lift the veil from masking this male knowledge from women. I believe this motif of the veil to be even more relevant to this approach as women are typically the wearers of the garment of the veil. If we imagine, a woman shrouded by such a garment, it is not only her face which is obscured — her vision is also blurred. She is thus prohibited from viewing objects in front of her without obstruction. Aesthetically, the veil stands for the obstruction of mans sphere of knowledge. The veil as obstruction thus also prevents women from writing in a way which embodies the truth.

[849] Pratt notes that Mallarmé was the first to speak of the movement and new theory of poetry as "symboliste". Sourced from Pratt, William, *Singing the Chaos: Madness and Wisdom in Modern Poetry* (Columbia: University of Missouri, 1996) p.14

[850] ibid. p.15 Pratt identifies that "Yeats saw the French symbolists as opening new opportunities for poets […] He felt they had demonstrated how to blend sounds and colours to evoke fleeting yet distinct emotions, how to create delicate rhythms that put the reader in a "state of perhaps real trance, in which the mind liberated from the pressure of the will is unfolded in symbols and how to express shades of meaning that would otherwise remain unknown, because you cannot give a body to something that moves beyond the senses, unless your words are as subtle, as complex, as full of mysterious life, as the body of a flower or of a woman."

[851] Showalter, Elaine, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Charlotte Brontëto Doris Lessing* (London: Virago, 1982) p.249

In “Women and the Future” Richardson expresses her viewpoints regarding feminism and its effects upon the previously masculine sphere of knowledge. Throughout the article, Richardson demonstrates how women are beginning to lift the veil under which they had been attempting to express themselves. Returning to Brimley Johnson in his identification of the female novelists of the twentieth century as “the new woman,” we draw upon what Richardson identifies as the masculine fallacy of believing the woman of the post-war years to be of a “new” type:

> Most of the prophesies born of the renewed moral visibility of women, though superficially at war with each other, are united at their base. They meet and sink in the sands of the assumption that we are, to-day, confronted with a new species of woman. Nearly all the prophets, nearly all of those who are at work constructing hells, or heavens, upon this loose foundation, are men.[852]

Here, Richardson acknowledges that women have become increasingly visible in the historical moment of the inter-war years within the public sphere of knowledge and education. At the same time, women were also maintaining their roles in the private arena of the home. As already briefly stated, this particular modernist female literary aesthetic was preceded by the fiction of the New Woman. This fiction was "characterized by an uncertainty about the position of the new feminine subject: whether she was inside (private/domestic) or outside (public/political.)"[853] Unlike the women rising from the fin de siècle however, the 1920s female did not only "hover uncertainly" on the threshold between the public and the private, but was proactively seen to be transgressing it. The increased visibility of women during this time, led men to mistakenly identify the 1920s woman as "new." As a result of this misidentification certain tensions surrounding the ability to define and understand women — “constructing hells or heavens” — have been created.

[852] Richardson, Dorothy, “Women and the Future” *Vogue*, Early May 1924 p.32 & 70
[853] McCracken, Scott, *Masculinities, Modernist Fiction and the Urban Public Sphere* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2007) p.25

“Centuries of masculine expressiveness,” Richardson argues, have portrayed women in a limited way concentrating on her external biological and sexual form, concerned with her only in terms of “her moments of relationship to the world as it is known to men.” This clearly replicates and re-emphasises Richardson’s concepts regarding the need for a new feminine literary aesthetic to consider the innate qualities and conscious foundations of womanhood. Moreover, this consciousness, is not as “male tradition” would have it, “new,” nor have these circumstances created a “new type” or “new species” of woman. Richardson explains that nothing — especially the current position of the “battalions of women [that] have become literate” — is formed completely anew. She observes:

> Masculine illusions are dying like flies. But even to-day, most men are scarcely aware of the searchlight flung by those revelations across the past. These modern women, they say, are a new type. It does not greatly matter to women that men cling to this idea. The truth about the past can be trusted to look after itself. There is, however, no illusion more wasteful than the illusion of beginning all over again; nothing more misleading than the idea of being divorced from the past.[854]

In analysing the dichotomy between modernism and mass culture in the 1986 work, *After the Great Divide: Modernism, Mass Culture, Postmodernism* — specifically in the chapter titled "Mass Culture as Woman: Modernism's Other" — Huyssen also acknowledges the "traditional notion that women's aesthetic and artistic abilities are inferior to those of men."[855] If indeed, such a postulation is held to be the case then it would hold that women are only capable of being "providers of inspiration for the artist"[856] and not acceptable as his creative equal: “concerned only with her moments of relationship to the world as it is known to men.” The identification of

[854] Richardson, Dorothy, “Women and the Future” *Vogue*, Early May 1924 p.32
[855] Huyssen, Andreas, *Mass Culture as Woman: Modernisms Other* (1986)
Sourced from: http://www.mariabuszek.com/kcai/PoMoSeminar/Readings/HuyssenMassCult.pdf
[856] ibid.

women as the enslaved and objectified subjects of art is also ruminated over by Woolf in *A Room of One's Own.* On the female condition in history she comments: "Some of the most inspired words, some of the most profound thoughts in literature fall from her lips [but] in reality she could hardly read, could scarcely spell, and was the property of her husband."[857] Woolf here demonstrates the mythologizing of women in literature and the article by Richardson bears the same mythologizing. It is through the image of "La Giaconda" — the Mona Lisa by Leonardo Da Vinci[858] — that Richardson's views regarding masculine positioning of women, especially in terms of their development into creative licensees, is developed. Richardson utilises this portrait in order to explain why the male species are "disconcerted" by the modern female and to define the "type of woman" from which they see her as being a development from. "Most men […] sigh for ancient mystery and inscrutability, for La Giaconda" states Richardson, but similarly, like their misconception of the "new" woman, which ignores the historical passage of femininity, this desire for the Mona Lisa is also flawed. A large proportion of "Women and the Future" is dedicated to exploring why men — through the viewpoint of a woman — are unjustified in their mythologizing of the Mona Lisa. Primarily, it needs to be addressed that the Mona Lisa is fundamentally a portrait of a woman by a male artist. In much the same way that men cannot thoroughly express a female character within fiction, a male artist can no more completely portray a female subject on canvas. In the creative works of men, Richardson is arguing, we witness a vast "misrepresentation of feminine reality"[859] in that there is only surface and thus an unawareness of feminine consciousness. Returning to Brimley Johnson in his identification of the "female

[857] Woolf, Virginia, [1929] *A Room of One's Own & The Voyage Out* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics, 2012) p.59

[858] The Mona Lisa "doubtless painted in Florence between 1503 and 1506. It is thought to be of Lisa Gherardini, wife of a Florentine cloth merchant named Francesco del Giocondo - hence the alternative title, "La Gioconda".[…] The Mona Lisa's famous smile represents the sitter in the same way that the juniper branches represent Ginevra Benci and the ermine represents Cecilia Gallerani in their portraits, in Washington and Krakow respectively. It is a visual representation of the idea of happiness suggested by the word "gioconda" in Italian. Leonardo made this notion of happiness the central motif of the portrait: it is this notion which makes the work such an ideal. The nature of the landscape also plays a role. The middle distance, on the same level as the sitter's chest, is in warm colours. Men live in this space: there is a winding road and a bridge."
Information sourced from:
http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/mona-lisa-%E2%80%93-portrait-lisa-gherardini-wife-francesco-del-giocondo
accessed on 13th January 2013

[859] Showalter, Elaine, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Charlotte Brontëto Doris Lessing* (London: Virago, 1982) p.256

novelist of the twentieth century" to be searching for "that reality which is behind the material, the things that matter, spiritual things, ultimate Truth," we can identify that "that reality" is what Richardson, through "La Giaconda" is forcefully expressing. She states that Da Vinci had "an innocent eye," unaware of the consciousness of his subject matter and intent only upon "his business of making a good picture." The subtitle to the article "a trembling of the veil before the eternal mystery of La Giaconda," identifies the fact that "there is in Lisa more than the portrayal of essential womanhood." It is only women who are capable of inscribing "the secondary life of the lady" which has gone unnoticed by her male painter and has led men to interpret her incorrectly."La Giaconda" with her much contemplated smile is no different from the woman of today than she is to the woman of the 1900s and the woman of whom Richardson speaks here. Mona Lisa represents, in her natural surroundings, female fertility and thus "woman's enchanted domestication."[860] She sits, hands clasped, as Leonardo's patient and mute subject matter and becomes with each stroke, an icon of femininity, adored by men. This adoration originates most obviously, from Mona's beauty. Her unconscious ability to be visually admired, her inability to cause disruption, her state of constant silence and her enigmatic inscrutability, compel the male onlooker. Richardson explores further how "Lisa stands alone in the feminine portraiture because she is centred, […] It is because she is so completely *there*[861] that she draws men like a magnet. […] For there is in Lisa more than the portrayal of essential womanhood."[862] Richardson terms "man's ancient mystery woman" as "the beloved hated abyss" aligning with the foundations of the feminine literary aesthetic she had previously outlined in her article "The Reality of Feminism." This article draws attention to the fact that in the lives of men, women have always had dual functions — "he has hated and loved and feared her as mother nature, feared and adored her as the unattainable, the Queen of Heaven."[863] The Mona Lisa can be conceived as both

[860] Richardson, Dorothy, "Women and the Future" *Vogue*, Early May 1924 p.32
[861] ibid. Italicised in original text.
[862] idem.
[863] Richardson, Dorothy "The Reality of Feminism" cited in Kime-Scott, Bonnie, [ed.] *The Gender of Modernism*: *A Critical Anthology* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990) p.406

 [864]

Figure 96

[864] Image sourced from: www.accents-n-art.com
accessed on 13th January 2013

beloved and hated because of this misconception. She is both silent and beautiful but also the sole subject and correspondingly dominant. She is also, as she exists outside of time and history, able to remain "untroubled and complete:"[865]

> Men regard [women's] advance with mixed feelings, and face her with a neat dilemma. Either, they say, you must go on being Helens and Cinderella's, or you must drop all that and play the game, in so far as your disabilities allow, as we play it. They look forward to the emergence of an army of civilised, docile women, following modestly behind the vanguard of males at work upon the business of reducing chaos to order.[866]

From this quotation it is possible to identify why Richardson chose to invoke the figure of the Mona Lisa and utilised her as a motif to represent what men desire women to be. The Mona Lisa is situated, permanently, within one particular historical moment[867] signifying women's state of existence as a "Helen or Cinderella." This moment was definitely — to speak in the masculine terms of Richardson's article — not in favour of the empowerment of "a new type of woman." The moment in which "La Giaconda" passively sits is the opposite of this "advancement" identified by Richardson. In the eyes of the male, women cannot possess — to put it broadly — beauty and brains, nor be mother and mind, or wife and writer. In posing this choice, men believe that women will disregard their desires for empowerment and "advancement" — this "chaos" as Richardson satirically terms it — and resume their path in life to follow the male. In Richardson's article the Mona Lisa is utilised to demonstrate that to men she represents docility, order, and non-confrontational, unthreatening beauty, the private, and a serene devotion to reproduction

[865] Richardson, Dorothy "The Reality of Feminism" cited in Kime-Scott, Bonnie, [ed.] *The Gender of Modernism*: *A Critical Anthology* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990) p.406
[866] Richardson, Dorothy, "Women and the Future" *Vogue*, Early May 1924 p.32
[867] The Louvre, where the Mona Lisa is currently housed, dates the creation of the portrait from 1503-1506 Information sourced from: http://www.louvre.fr/en/oeuvre-notices/mona-lisa-%E2%80%93-portrait-lisa-gherardini-wife-francesco-del-giocondo accessed on 135h January 2013

and domestication. However, like their misconception that the woman of the 1920s is a “new type,” men also overlook the fact that the subject of the artwork is “centred.”

This matter of being "centred" is further explained by Richardson in relation to her ideas of “essential egoism”[868] and its indigenous dwelling place within women. According to Richardson, “only completely self-centred consciousness can attain to unselfishness — the celebrated unselfishness of the womanly woman.” This figure of the “womanly woman” exists, as expressed through the example of "La Giaconda",

> […] In the deep current of eternity, an individual, self-centred. Because she is one with life, past, present and future are together in her unbroken. Because she thinks flowingly, with her feelings, she is relatively indifferent to the fashions of men, to the momentary arts, religions, philosophies, and sciences.[869]

This element of Richardson’s article also signifies a great deal towards the position of women in education and in writing as professionals. If “the trembling of the veil” is a motif for a shift in literary traditions, then the current contributions of women to literature are causing the silence of femininity to be obliterated. The veil trembles before the “eternal mystery of La Giaconda” because women, now vocal, can unravel it by posing women in their fiction as complete subjects rather than fragmented objects. In being able to present women, female writers could aptly portray their consciousness, their internal states of being as they are known by their female creators and by other women. Women writers had become as "centred" as the Mona Lisa —vocal and opinionated on all subjects of humanity.

[868] Richardson, Dorothy, “Women and the Future” *Vogue*, Early May 1924 p.32
[869] ibid. pg.70

> The rebel, the human being in revolt against all forms of previous fixture and propriety, stood as the literary response to the changes taking place in Western culture as a whole. Under these circumstances, the modernist movement provided opportunities, previously unknown, for the expatriate woman, the lesbian or bisexual woman, the politically or socially rebellious woman, the self-directing woman to speak.[870]

Seeing as a woman who could be described on several if not all of these counts was employed as editor of *Vogue*, it is not surprising that she offered similarly "self-directing women" the opportunity to speak. Todd did not only give editorial space to women however, for those people "in revolt against all forms of previous fixture and propriety" were also men. The men who were published in *Vogue* at this time can be regarded as the "large class of delightful beings[871]" that Richardson acknowledged. Together, these women and men who were united by their desire for a new movement in the arts were able to intellectually co-exist within *Vogue's* pages. There was a harmony, an intellectually stimulating and amiable debate overtly present in the magazine between 1922 and 1926, which was completely in discord with the "battle" that was occurring at certain points within Richardson's prose. The extended metaphor Richardson operates within is one of belligerence and "chaos." This metaphor reaches its zenith of intent in the following paragraph:

> Another group of thinkers sees the world in process of feminisation, the savage wilderness, where men compete and fight, tuned into a home. Over against them are those who view the opening prospect with despair. To them, feminism is the invariable accompaniment of degeneration. They draw back in horror before the oncoming flood of mediocrity. They see ahead a democratised world, over-run by hordes of inferior beings,

[870] Fullbrook, Kate, *Free Women: Ethics and Aesthetics in Twentieth Century Women's Fiction* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990) p.113-114
[871] Richardson, Dorothy, "Women and the Future" *Vogue*, Early May 1924 p.70

> organised by majorities for material ends; with primitive, unciviliisable [sic] woman rampant in the midst.[872]

The metaphor which initially identified the intellectualised women as part of a "battalion" suggested that the education and professionalism of women was part of a larger battle for their equality and also that it was those men who "draw back in horror, before the oncoming flood" and that are fighting against womanhood which they viewed as "uncivilisable". The feminist concern apropos education was a great part of Woolf's subject in *A Room of One's Own*:

> Here then was I [...] sitting on the banks of a river a week or two ago in fine October weather, lost in thought. That collar I have spoken of, women and fiction, the need of coming to some conclusion on a subject that raises all sorts of prejudices and passions, bowed my head to the ground. To the right and left bushes of some sort, golden and crimson, glowed with the colours, even it seemed burnt with the heat, of fire. On the further bank the willows wept in perpetual lamentation, their hair about their shoulders. The river reflected whatever it chose of sky and bridge and burning tree, and when the undergraduate had oared his boat through the reflections they closed again, completely, as if he had never been. There one might have sat the clock round lost in thought. Thought — to call it by a prouder name than it deserved — had let its line down unto the stream. It swayed, minute after minute, hither and thither among the reflections and the weeds, letting the water lift it and sink it until — you know the little tug — the sudden conglomeration of an idea at the end of one's line: and then the cautious hauling of it in, and the careful laying of it out? Alas, laid on the grass how small, how insignificant this thought of mine looked; the sort of fish that a good fisherman puts back into the water so that it may grow fatter and be one day worth cooking and eating. [...] But however

[872] Richardson, Dorothy, "Women and the Future" *Vogue*, Early May 1924 p.32 & 70

> small it was, it had, nevertheless, the mysterious property of its kind. — put back into the mind, it became at once very exciting, and important; and as it darted and sank, and flashed hither and thither set up such a wash and tumult of ideas that it was impossible to sit still. It was thus that I found myself walking with extreme rapidity across a grass plot. Instantly a man's figure rose to intercept me. Nor did I at first understand that the gesticulations of a curious-looking object, in a cut away coat and evening shirt, were aimed at me. His face expressed horror and indignation. Instinct rather than reason came to my help; he was a beadle; I was a woman. This was the turf; there was the path. Only the Fellows and the Scholars are allowed here; the gravel is the place for me. Such thoughts were the work of a moment. As I regained the path the arms of the beadle sank, his face resumed its usual repose, and though turf is better walking than gravel, no very great harm was done. The only charge I could bring against the Fellows and Scholars of whatever the college might happen to be was that in protection of their turf, which has been rolled for three hundred years in accession, they had sent my little fish into hiding.[873]

This excerpt highlights the obstacles which confronted women writers in this period. In Woolf's prose it was the form of the male beadle who interrupted the pursuit of female knowledge and enquiry. The beadle, walking among the ancient customs of Oxbridge, stands for male dominance in all fields of knowledge and education. In sending Woolf's little fish — which represents a creative idea — into hiding, the beadle also represents suppression of the female intellect and imagination. The significations for a woman being forced to walk on the gravel and not on the grass are great, but the one of sole importance in this instance is the fact that this particular female who has a head full of ideas, is walking unauthorised on foundations that have been laid down by men, for men. At Todd's *Vogue,* women were permitted metaphorically to walk on the

[873]Woolf, Virginia, [1929] *A Room of One's Own & The Voyage Out* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics, 2012) p.30-31

grass alongside such male thinkers and intellectuals. It was the *Vogue* title which permitted Dorothy Todd to place women and men side by side on her pages, to suppress only the notion of gender based exclusion.

The matter of male control over knowledge is made even more obvious in Wool's polemic within the library scene. On entry into the library, narrated in the stream of consciousness style, Woolf writes:

> Instantly there issued, like a guardian angel barring the way with a flutter of black gown instead of white wings, a deprecating, silvery, kindly gentleman, who regretted in a low voice as he waved me back that ladies are only admitted to the library if accompanied by a Fellow of the College or furnished with a letter of introduction. That a famous library has been cursed by a woman is a matter of complete indifference to a famous library.[874]

Here "a gentleman" prohibits the female subject entry into the library and thus symbolically denies her access to knowledge. Women are not to be let wild and free to make their own decisions and find their own answers, but must instead be guided by a male "fellow of the college." There is, however, no such method of prohibition available to men to stop or restrain the thoughts within the female mind. Internally, women are free. From this idea, it is possible to continue to examine the final male category that Richardson identifies in her article which can be used to appreciate fully the effect of Todd's *Vogue* in creating a room of the modernist's own, a haven from the discordant "oncoming flood of mediocrity":

> Serenely apart from these small camps is a large class of delightful beings, the representatives of average masculinity at its best, drawing much comfort from the

[874] Woolf, Virginia, [1929] *A Room of One's Own & The Voyage Out* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics, 2012) p.32

> spectacle of contradictory, mysterious woman at last bidding fair to become something recognisably like itself. Women, they say, are beginning to take life like men; are finding in life the things men have found. They make room for her. They are charming.[875]

It would seem that Richardson could almost be referring to the male contributors of *Vogue*, particularly as she emphasises how "they make room" for the woman of the modern era. These men are regarded as "delightful" because of the way in which they encourage women's contributions and view them as valuable and as relevant as their own — the things "they have found." The final paragraph of the article openly sets out the collaborative nature of the modernists as it is found to exist within *Vogue's* pages:

> The world at large is swiftly passing from youthful freebooting. It is on the way to finding itself married. That is to say, in for startling changes. Shaken up. Led by the nose and liking it. […].It is the talent of man, his capacity to *do* most things better than women, backed up by the genius of woman — the capacity to *see* — that is carrying life forward to the levels opening out ahead.[876]

As well as demonstrating that both sexes have seemingly opposing capabilities within life, Richardson also suggests that within literature these binaries are of inherent value. Men were the instigators of the realist movement in fiction — in which they write within their own narrative framework of action and intent (to do) — and women, represented by Richardson here, created a genre of writing concerned with the inner consciousness of their characters — this feminine literary aesthetic demonstrated the woman's "capacity to see".

[875] Richardson, Dorothy, "Women and the Future" *Vogue*, Early May 1924 p.70
[876] ibid.

In the last quotation cited to demonstrate the position of both women and men as contributors to *Vogue* during Todd's editorship, Richardson questions how women's equality — their becoming "fellow pilgrims" — as thinkers and intellectuals will impact upon these men. Richardson refers to an "illusion of supremacy" which man depends on to maintain his dominance over women. In the above study of Richardson and her sole *Vogue* article, I have drawn upon several similarities between the work of Richardson and Woolf. It is commonly held that these two women were instrumental in developing and promoting this new female literary aesthetic, but in terms of this "illusion of supremacy," it is Woolf who seeks to explain its origins and continuation. In *A Room of One's Own*, the narrator states:

> Women have served all these centuries as looking-glasses possessing the magic and delicious power of reflecting the figure of man at twice its natural size. Without that power probably the earth would still be swamp and jungle. The glories of all our wars would be unknown. We would still be scratching the outlines of deer on the remains of mutton bones and bartering flints for sheepskins or whatever simple ornament took our unsophisticated taste. Supermen and Fingers of Destiny would never have existed. The Csar and the Kaiser would never have worn crowns or lost them. Whatever may be their use in civilised societies, mirrors are essential to all violent and heroic action. That is why Napoleon and Mussolini both insist so emphatically upon the inferiority of women, for if they were not inferior, they would cease to enlarge. That serves to explain in part the necessity that women so often are to men. And it serves to explain how restless they are under her criticism, how impossible it is for her to say to them this book is bad, this picture is feeble, or whatever it may be, without giving far more pain and rousing far more anger than a man would do who gave the same criticism. For if she begins to tell the

> truth, the figure in the looking-glass shrinks; his fitness for life is diminished. […] Take it away and man may die.[877]

First and foremost it is interesting that Woolf should utilise the image of the looking-glass at this point in her literary career as the looking-glass is an on-going, omnipresent symbol running through *Vogue's* history, not only during Todd's tenure but since its inception and up until the present day. What Woolf is explaining here is that the events of history, the patriarchal systems that exist to contain woman, subsist because of women themselves. Woolf explains what Richardson identifies as "the illusion of supremacy" to be the mistaken reflection on the surface of the mirror of woman. Richardson's article draws attention to the viewpoint that women have the capacity to hold all ideas simultaneously:

> Because she is one with life, past, present and future are together in her, unbroken. Because she thinks flowingly, with her feelings, she is relatively indifferent to the fashions of men, to the momentary arts, religions, philosophies and sciences, valuing them only in so far as she is aware of their importance in the evolution of the beloved.[878]

Opinions are only of importance to the female because of their effect upon the relational male subject. Women's capabilities to exist from without — their ability to exist within conceptions of past present and future — permit them to hold up this magic mirror which inflates the male and helps to maintain the order of patriarchal systems. Women becoming conscious — the "battalions" of literate — and making themselves audible within the literary sphere and present within public life, shatters the glass which maintains this illusion. Showalter affirms this: "Women's responsiveness to human demands had always kept them from becoming great artists,

[877] Woolf, Virginia, [1929] *A Room of One's Own & The Voyage Out* (Hertfordshire: Wordsworth Classics, 2012) p.52-53
[878] Richardson, Dorothy, "Women and the Future" *Vogue*, Early May 1924 p.70

but Richardson thought she could see a way to turn this liability into an asset."[879] This asset being that women could communicate the elements of humanity — of consciousness and atmosphere — that men were unable to fully represent, embracing both experience and action. In this respect, Richardson is similar to Todd who was sent to New York to learn her trade as *Vogue* editor and inhale the stench of regimentation in content and layout let off by Woolman-Chase and Cond*é* Nast — it was a smell that was musky with age. Todd used another of Nast's publications, *Vanity Fair* run by Frank Crowninshield, as a source of inspiration for the form and content of her *Vogue,* as well as engaging in her own clever manipulations of the *Vogue* formula already established for her to follow.

Showalter argues that, In the case of Richardson "female consciousness became a closed and sterile world: thus she was an innovator who did not attract disciples."[880] I wish to argue against this point. I have already attempted to convey the amount of similarities in conceptual and theoretical thinking between Richardson and Woolf, but I also wish to argue that in printing the article alone, and in her inclusion of other writers with the same inclinations to develop female writing as Richardson was, Todd stood as a "disciple" to the new development of this particular feminine literary aesthetic.

> [...] The struggle of women writers to bring to consciousness their intense apprehension of just the kinds of problems which, through their circulation, have pointed to new futures through their transformatory effect upon values as they relate to women. The work in which these writers are engaged reaches beyond the creation of new images of women, and beyond the persuasive force of the confessional role of individual women's histories — two significant aspects of women's writing to which feminist literary critics

[879] Showalter, Elaine, *A Literature of Their Own: British Women Novelists from Charlotte Brontëto Doris Lessing* (London: Virago, 1982) p.251
[880] ibid. p.258

> have paid close attention. [...] These texts point to alternative futures, invent ethical perspectives which do not yet prevail, but which may be formed in the process of imagining, transcribing and reading them, futures which will certainly not be formed if they are not formulated and discussed.[881]

Vogue has been cleverly utilised under Todd with regards to the disseminating of the ideals of this particular feminine literary aesthetic. It existed traditionally as a paper of the "feminine sphere," notorious for its presentation of fashion and commodity culture. By incorporating the literary and critical contributions of women, Todd maintained *Vogue* as an outlet for feminine expression, but by using Richardson's article she cleverly made the statement that women and their roles were changing, and even *Vogue* must not continue "to limit its pages to hats and frocks."[882]

5.3 "Determined never, never to desert Mrs. Brown"[883]: Virginia Woolf and *Vogue*

> The history of women's modernist practice is the history of previously unheard voices being made audible, speaking of experiences and perceptions for which no approved paradigms existed in ways that violated both literary and social codes.[884]

This comment by Fullbrook relates to not only the issue of breaking the boundaries of gender dualism, but also to *Vogue's* — and Todd's — ability to make these voices and views readable and present within a factual genre and more so, one that is mass read by both the consuming public and by those fellow "previously unheard voices." Richardson's "Women and the Future" article

[881] Fullbrook, Kate, *Free Women: Ethics and Aesthetics in Twentieth Century Women's Fiction* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990) p.7
[882] Anonymous, "Contents Page" *Vogue*, Early April 1925 p.xiv
[883] Woolf, Virginia, "Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown" [1924] cited in Kime Scott, Bonnie, [ed.] *The Gender of Modernism: A Critical Anthology* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990) p.639-641
[884] Fullbrook, Kate, *Free Women: Ethics and Aesthetics in Twentieth Century Women's Fiction* (Hertfordshire: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990) p.117

demonstrated her ideas concerning the principles of this particular female literary aesthetic. As within her fictional work, *Pilgrimage*, her feminist stance and beliefs in favour of promoting the female ability to express aptly feminine consciousness are made explicitly clear. Six months later, Virginia Woolf, published "Indiscretions," an article which explores the thoughts that govern a female reader when confronted with a piece of literature and which put forth the idea that writing need necessarily be sexless in order to be valued by either gender. I have already paid substantial attention to Woolf in relation to her opinions regarding fashions in clothing and in terms of her relationship with Dorothy Todd. I wish to now utilise the example of Woolf to examine what exactly she chose to write for *Vogue* and to consider the possible significance of why she may have contributed such content.

As is now customary by the time of Woolf's first *Vogue* article in Late November 1924, literature is not only reviewed but the processes of writing and of reading are themselves put to question: writers within Todd's *Vogue* specifically seem to enjoy contemplating these processes in terms of gender. "Indiscretions" is one such article, beginning:

> It is always indiscreet to mention the affections. Yet how they prevail, how they permeate all our intercourse! Liking and disliking we go our ways, and so it must be in reading. The critic may be able to abstract the essence and feast upon it undisturbed, but for the rest of us in every book there is something — sex, character, temperament — which, as in life, rouses affection or repulsion, and again, as in life, is hardly to be analysed by the reason.[885]

As Woolf continues, it becomes clear that she is mainly concerned with probing into the preferences of a female readership: why exactly the female sex like or dislike certain works of

[885] Woolf, Virginia, "Indiscretions" *Vogue*, Late November 1924 p.47

literature. In this respect, “Indiscretions” becomes a valuable piece of documentation which provides evidence for the development of this female literary aesthetic and its appearance in *Vogue* demonstrates the magazine's involvement in promoting such a dialogue of development and enquiry. In the issue of Early October 1923 for example, Vita Sackville-West published “What do Readers Look For?” and examined the tastes and reading habits of women in a similar way to that of Woolf. Sackville-West writes:

> Women readers, I think […] are the worst offenders […] because their first and last demand upon a book is that it shall be human. I don’t know that they are altogether in the wrong. Undoubtedly this demand for the human in literature explains the enormous vogue for the novel. […] For women in particular, who temperamentally belong almost without exception to the romantic school, who by nature are lawless and individual, who lack that peculiarly male instinct for the classical tradition, it is the solution.[886]

This demand that a novel be “human” references the demand of this literary aesthetic that the true nature of the female sex and its innate consciousness must be expressed completely within a work of fiction. Sackville-West is not only acknowledging this but again paying attention to the divide in both taste and technique between a male and female readership. The classical tradition, with its limitations relating to how women were able to be portrayed is labelled as distinctly “male” whereas women — recalling the aesthetics' need of the feminine for “that reality […] the things that matter, spiritual things, ultimate Truth”[887]— hark to the romantic need for semblance to reality, which also, simultaneously explains Sackville-West’s belief that after the novel, the memoir or biography is the female reader's favourite genre. This craving for a book to be capable

[886] Sackville-West, Vita, “What do Readers Look For?" *Vogue,* Early October 1923 p.81
[887] Johnson, Brimley, *Some Contemporary Novelists (Women)* (London: Books for Libraries Press, 1920) p.xiv-xv

of exposing "the human in real life"[888] is represented in Woolf's article by her acknowledgment of the female readers' tendency to "love" the author behind certain literary works:

> No woman ever loved Byron; they bowed to convention; did what they were told to do […] the character of Byron is the least attractive in the history of letters. But no wonder that every man was in love with him. In their company he must have been irresistible; brilliant and courageous; dashing and satirical; downright and tremendous; the conqueror of women and companion of heroes — everything that strong men believe themselves to be and weak men envy them for being. But to fall in love with Bryon, to enjoy Don Juan and the letters to the fall, obviously one must be a man; or, if of the other sex, disguise it.[889]

It is Woolf's opinion that only men can read the works of Bryon and fully "love" them because the themes and motifs which exist within align with those associated with traditional forms of masculinity. Woolf wishes to make it clear that this is not the case with all male writers, stating: "if ever [there] was a man whom both sexes must unite to honour" it would be Keats and accredits him with the ability to write characters with "the […] qualities that human beings can command."[890] As her article progresses, it becomes apparent that Woolf is not only explaining why women "love" certain writers and not others because of the author behind their creation, but also because of an authors' treatment of female characters. As she further explores Keats and then turns to Samuel Johnson, it becomes increasingly evident that Woolf judges her critiques of the novel by the ways in which females are discriminated against and unfairly represented within these works. Reading as a woman, she is arguing, one is continually accosted by the underlying qualm that because a man is known to be the creator, his narrative, his characters, his themes,

[888] Sackville-West, Vita, "What do Readers Look For?" *Vogue*, Early October 1923 p.81
[889] Woolf, Virginia, "Indiscretions" *Vogue*, Late November 1924 p.47
[890] ibid.

are affected by his maleness — "they have exerted the influence of their sex directly."[891] Not only is Woolf utilising historical literary figures to validate her claims for change but she is doing so to reinforce the messages of this particular female literary aesthetic in order to promote future development. Woolf, continues to suggest the alternative to an entirely gendered writing style:

> There is a class which keeps itself aloof from any such contamination [of the exertion of the influence of their sex]. Milton is their leader; with him are Landor, Sappho, Sir Thomas Browne, Marvell. Feminists or anti-feminists, passionate or cold — whatever the romances or adventures of their private lives not a whiff of that mist attaches itself to their writing. It is pure, uncontaminated, sexless as the angels are said to be sexless. […] They are not men when they write, nor are they women. They appeal to that large tract of the soul; which is sexless.[892]

This article sketches briefly what Woolf was later to develop into her theory of the androgynous mind based on the ideas of Coleridge and outlined in *A Room of One's Own*:

> I went on amateurishly to sketch a plan of the soul so that in each of us two powers preside, one male, one female; and in the man's brain the man predominates over the woman, and in the woman's brain the woman predominates over the man. The normal and comfortable state of being is that when the two live in harmony together, spiritually co-operating.[893]

From this citation we can identify the principles of what Woolf believed was the ideal state of mind necessary for the creation of works of art. Despite its much debated meaning by scholars,

[891] Woolf, Virginia, "Indiscretions" *Vogue*, Late November 1924 p.47
[892] ibid.
[893] Woolf, Virginia, *A Room of One's Own* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998) p.128.

"androgyny, for Woolf, was a theory that aimed to offer men and women the chance to write without consciousness of their sex — the result of which would ideally result in uninhibited creativity"[894] and thus avoid the "contamination" that Woolf acknowledges in "Indiscretions." Such a state of mind would lead to the capability of "man or woman [profiting] equally by their pages"[895] of reading material. This method of writing lends itself to the authors and enables them to become "fully human"[896] This harmonious state of collaboration bears resemblance to the uniting of the sexes which Richardson was promoting in "Women and the Future." Richardson acknowledged that the capabilities of men "to do most things" and the "genius of woman — the capacity to see,"[897] in combination were "carrying life forward to the levels opening out ahead"[898] and creating the opportunities for progression. The pages of *Vogue* were being utilised as a site for the expression and promotion of development but was not purely feminist in its stance. Both Woolf and Richardson's articles acknowledge the importance of the masculine role in the same way that *Vogue* does in its inclusion of articles by men. *Vogue* represents what Virginia Woolf in her theory of the androgynous mind was detailing: there must be a balance of the elements masculine and feminine elements for a work of literature to be uninhibited by gendered creativity. "Indiscretions" concludes by clearly demonstrating what I believe Woolf's argument to really be a response to:

> […] a man of the very opposite sort — large, lame, simple-minded: a scribbler of innumerable novels not a line of which is harsh, obscure or anything but propriety itself

[894] Wright, Elizabeth, "Re-evaluating Woolf's Androgynous Mind" in *Postgraduate English Journal* Issue 4 (Durham: Durham University Press, 2006)
Sourced from: http://www.dur.ac.uk/postgraduate.english/ElizabethWrightArticleIssue14.htm
accessed on February 26th 2013
[895] Woolf, Virginia, "Indiscretions" *Vogue*, Late November 1924 p.47
[896] Heilbrun, Carolyn, "Further Notes Towards a Recognition of Androgyny" in *Women's Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal*, Issue 2 (London: Gordon and Breach Science Publishers Ltd, 1974) p.144
[897] Richardson, Dorothy, "Women and the Future" *Vogue*, Early May 1924 p.70
[898] ibid.

> […] — no woman can read the life of this man and his diary and his novels without being head over hills in love with Walter Scott.[899]

The fact that Woolf sees Walter Scott as embodying "propriety itself" represents what is central to her promotion of a "sexless" creative mind in that "androgyny was for Woolf a way of liberating women from the negative forces placed by patriarchy on their sex."[900] Again, we are reminded of Richardson's *Vogue* article and can see Walter Scott as being part of "that large class of delightful beings" which "make room" for women and are thus deemed by Richardson to be "charming."[901] This citing of Walter Scott also stands within a broader framework of the historic which, as we shall come to see through examination of Polly Flinders' *Vogue* articles, continues to play a part in the development of the movement of modernism through the magazines pages. Woolf not only draws upon a literary figure from an epoch long past, but also highlights the modernist need to look to "other names, more retired, less central, less universally gazed upon"[902] in order to understand the development of literature and to contribute adequately to its continued progression.

"Indiscretions" demonstrates Woolf's early thinking on the subject of the androgynous mind before its publication within *A Room of One's Own.* The publication of this piece suggests that *Vogue* under Todd became a somewhat interactive publication where new ideas, not necessarily fully developed, could be considered. The magazine became a metaphorical room with a "work in progress" sign hung over the entrance. *Vogue* under Todd became a forum for discussion and for developing ideas instead of continuing to maintain itself as a paper aligned steadfastly to the promotion of one particular principle. "Indiscretions" details the necessary need

[899] Woolf, Virginia, "Indiscretions" *Vogue*, Late November 1924 p.47
[900] Wright, Elizabeth, "Re-evaluating Woolf's Androgynous Mind" in *Postgraduate English Journal* Issue 4 (Durham: Durham University Press, 2006)
Sourced from: http://www.dur.ac.uk/postgraduate.english/ElizabethWrightArticleIssue14.htm
accessed on February 26th 2013
[901] Richardson, Dorothy, "Women and the Future" *Vogue*, Early May 1924 p.70
[902] Woolf, Virginia, "Indiscretions" *Vogue*, Late November 1924 p.47

for the unifying of both male and female minds and stands as further proof that Todd was promoting a room for the modernists own expression, unrestricted by the boundaries of sex.

On May 18th 1924, Woolf delivered a paper entitled "Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown" to the Heretics of Cambridge in which she writes of the condition of womanhood within literature personified by the character of Mrs Brown. In her deployment of such a character, Woolf expresses the very principles which govern this literary aesthetic of the female modernists, predominantly those which are concerned with past expressions of the female consciousness:

> There she sits in the corner of the carriage — that carriage which is travelling, not from Richmond to Waterloo, but from one age of English literature to the next, for Mrs Brown is eternal, Mrs Brown is human nature, Mrs Brown changes only on the surface, it is the novelists who get in and out — there she sits and not one of the Edwardian writers has so much as looked at her […] never at her, never at life, never at human nature.[903]

Thus far in my examination of the female writings present in *Vogue,* it can be said that it has been the magazines aim to promote the metaphorical acknowledgement of Mrs. Brown. This particular citation from Woolf's paper acknowledges the position of Mrs Brown as "eternal" and is therefore aligned to the central argument of Richardson which disputes the existence of a "new species of woman." *Vogue*, like Woolf in "Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown" is promoting the need to understand the position of womanhood intellectually and spiritually rather than materialistically and superficially —preoccupying itself "wholeheartedly with hats and frocks." More than this, *Vogue* and Woolf are likewise concerned with how the condition of womanhood is treated within literature itself. In the same way that Woolf was questioning women's position, *Vogue* was

[903] Woolf, Virginia, "Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown" [1924] cited in Kime Scott, Bonnie, [ed.] *The Gender of Modernism: A Critical Anthology* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990) p.638

occupied with the task of employing women to ask exactly the same questions within its pages and thus *Vogue* simultaneously aided women's development as writers, critics, artists, musicians and actors within the professional sphere: "For I will make one final and surprisingly rash prediction — we are trembling on the verge of one of the great ages of English literature. But it can only be reached if we are determined never, never to desert Mrs Brown."[904] In promoting the works of Woolf and Richardson and other female modernist writers, *Vogue* became a mouthpiece "determined never, never to desert Mrs. Brown" and intent on promoting development away from the restrictions of the past ages of literature in favour of progression to a new "great age":

> The Georgian novelist, however, was in an awkward predicament […] there were the Edwardians handing out tools […] Meanwhile the train was rushing to that station where we must all get out. Such, I think, was the predicament in which the young Georgians found themselves about the year 1910. Many of them […] spoilt their early work because, instead of throwing away those tools, they tried to use them. They tried to compromise […] something had to be done. At whatever cost of life, limb, and damage to valuable property Mrs Brown must be rescued, expressed, and set in her high relations to the world before the train stopped and she disappeared forever. And so the smashing and the crashing began. Thus it is that we hear all around us, in poems and novels and biographies, even in newspaper articles and essays, the sound of breaking and falling, crashing and destruction.[905]

I have chosen to conclude this section of my examination with one final citation from "Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown" which I believe aptly to express the developments that were occurring within the literary field in the early 1900s and which were reaching their zenith during Todd's editorship of

[904] Woolf, Virginia, "Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown" [1924] cited in Kime Scott, Bonnie [ed.] *The Gender of Modernism: A Critical Anthology* (Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1990) p.638
[905] ibid. p.639-640

British *Vogue*. If one considers the "sound of breaking and falling, crashing and destruction" in Woolf's article to represent the vocalisation of literary and artistic development, one would come to the conclusion that *Vogue* was one such place where the sounds of not only the demolition of the old tradition could be heard, but also the racket of rebuilding and renovation. Extending Woolf's metaphor even further, one can present the idea that the room of the modernist's own in *Vogue* was a shining, state of the art new-build, where the most recent innovative works of art and literature were hung on the walls and placed on the bookshelves. *Vogue* represented how the "smashing and crashing" had formed something completely anew. Progress had given magazines the opportunity to disseminate the status quo to a mass audience. It is to one of the most frequent visitors to *Vogue's* room of their own to whom I now wish to turn in this examination of the portrayal and discussion of this modernist female literary aesthetic within the magazine. By doing this I hope to demonstrate that the set of principles and ideals held by the aesthetics' two foremost innovators were also being dispersed, with increasing regularity and potency by one of *Vogue's* most frequent female writers.

5.4 The Lady[906] "That Dare Not Speak Her Name:"[907] Mary Hutchinson in *Vogue*

In the Late October 1924 issue of British *Vogue*, opposite an article titled “La Belle France” is a portrait of a woman, hands clasped in her full skirted lap, hair parted and pulled tightly back from her austere, porcelain face and her eyes not only averted but half closed against the invasion of the camera’s flash. Underneath this mysterious image, a declaration: “So this is “Polly

[906] I have chosen to represent Hutchinson by the noun “lady” throughout this section due to the history of the word lady in the history of magazines. Cox, and Mowatt note how by 1895 magazines, depending on their intended readership, chose to use the word “lady” or “woman” in their titles. “Lady” was utilised when an upper-class, more exclusive audience were being targeted, and “woman” when a magazine was aimed at the mass market, irrespective of class. This use of syntax “had become a well-established feature of segmentation amongst magazine publishers in Britain.” Jackson, Kate. *George Newnes and the New Journalism in Britain, 1880-1910.* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001) Sourced from Cox, Howard & Mowatt, Simon [2011] “*Vogue* in Britain: Authenticity and the Creation of Competitive Advantage in the UK Magazines Industry” *Business History*. Volume 54, Issue 1 (London: Taylor & Francis, 2012) pp.67-87

[907] The title of this section draws on Reed, Christopher, “A *Vogue* That Dare Not Speak its Name: Sexual Subculture during the Editorship of Dorothy Todd, 1922-1926” in *Fashion Theory*, Volume 10, Issue 1 & 2 (London: Berg, 2006) pp.39-72

Flinders."[908] Before I continue to identify the writer behind the pseudonym of Polly Flinders, I would first like to consider why such a disguise was initially put on and also to examine its significance in terms of the associations made towards *Vogue* magazine through adopting this disguise. Most obviously, the name of Polly Flinders stirs up recollections of a childhood nursery rhyme about a small child who dirties her dress whilst sitting by the fire.

> Little Polly Flinders
> Sat among the cinders,
> Warming her pretty little toes;
> Her mother came and caught her,
> And whipped her little daughter
> For spoiling her nice new clothes.[909]

On its own, this simple sestet does not serve to explain why Hutchinson should pick such a pseudonym to accompany her editorial contributions to *Vogue*. There must be a reason however, why Christopher Reed labels this choice of fictitious authorial name as "wicked."[910] Readers are presented primarily with the vulnerable image of a small child who, in order to feel warm, puts her feet up to the fire only to be punished by the severity of her mother's whip when she spoils her attire with soot. On consideration that *Vogue* was intended to be first and foremost a fashion magazine, Polly's mother represents the importance of maintaining perfection in dress at all times and therefore personifies the ideals of *Vogue* itself. It must not be forgotten that British *Vogue* was a child of the Great War: it continued to publish the latest developments and trends in fashion and style despite the fact that many of its readers would have been battling against their

[908] Anonymous, "So this is Polly Flinders..." *Vogue*, Late October 1924, p.58
[909] Opie, Iona & Peter eds. *The Oxford Dictionary of Nursery Rhymes*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951) Very little is known about the origins of this nursery rhyme. The editors acknowledge its presence in "Original Ditties for Nursery" by J. Harris circa 1805. I wish to align the character of Polly Flinders to the more widely known figure of Charles Perrault's Cinderella.
[910] Reed, Christopher, "A *Vogue* That Dare Not Speak its Name: Sexual Subculture during the Editorship of Dorothy Todd, 1922-1926" in *Fashion Theory*, Volume 10, Issue 1 & 2 (London: Berg, 2006) p.40

 [911]

Figure 97

[911] Anonymous, "So this is Polly Flinders..." *Vogue*, Late October 1924 p.58

own kinds of soot. Like *Vogue* during the war, the mother of Flinders stands for the maintenance of a good appearance at all times. The extremity of this dedication can be seen in the image photographed by Clifford Collin for *Vogue* in 1947.

Perhaps less significantly, but still worthy of mention is the following definition sourced from *The Ottawa Citizen: "*Polly Flinders (windows) keeps alive the name of the heroine in the old pantomime "Sinbad the Sailor."[912] This recognition of Cockney rhyming-slang utilising the name "Polly Flinders" in memory of a character in an old pantomime of *Sinbad the Sailor* to mean "windows" is also noteworthy in relation to *Vogue*. Throughout the editions from 1916 onwards, and indeed, up until this day, there are multiple references to the magazine being a "window": through which women may look out and peruse the fashionable world of high society and high fashion. This allusion is similar to that of the mirror which has also been used on manifold occasions, alongside the image of the window, to refer to the function of the magazine — *Vogue* is a mirror which shows the reflection of the fashionable woman who reads it and dedicates herself to following its doctrines.

In his article, "A Vogue That Dare Not Speak its Name: Sexual Subculture during the Editorship of Dorothy Todd, 1922-1926,"[913] Reed identifies Todd, as writing under the "wicked

[912] Gunston, David, "London's Own Language" in *The Ottawa Citizen*, 18th March 1954. In his article, Gunston explains Cockney Rhyming Slang to the Canadian audience stating: "Some two million Londoners talk a rhyming-slang dialect originally developed by thieves and tricksters. The visitor to London cannot move freely about the capital for long without hearing odd words spoken by the natives that seem to have no apparent meaning. And if he or she mixes to any true Londoner has a special language of his own. For Cockney rhyming-slang, respectable and currently spoken by upwards of two million Londoners, is indeed London's own language." Sourced from: http://news.google.com/newspapers?nid=2194&dat=19540318&id=sPAvAAAAIBAJ&sjid=n94FAAAAIBAJ&pg=7286 accessed on 3rd January 2012.

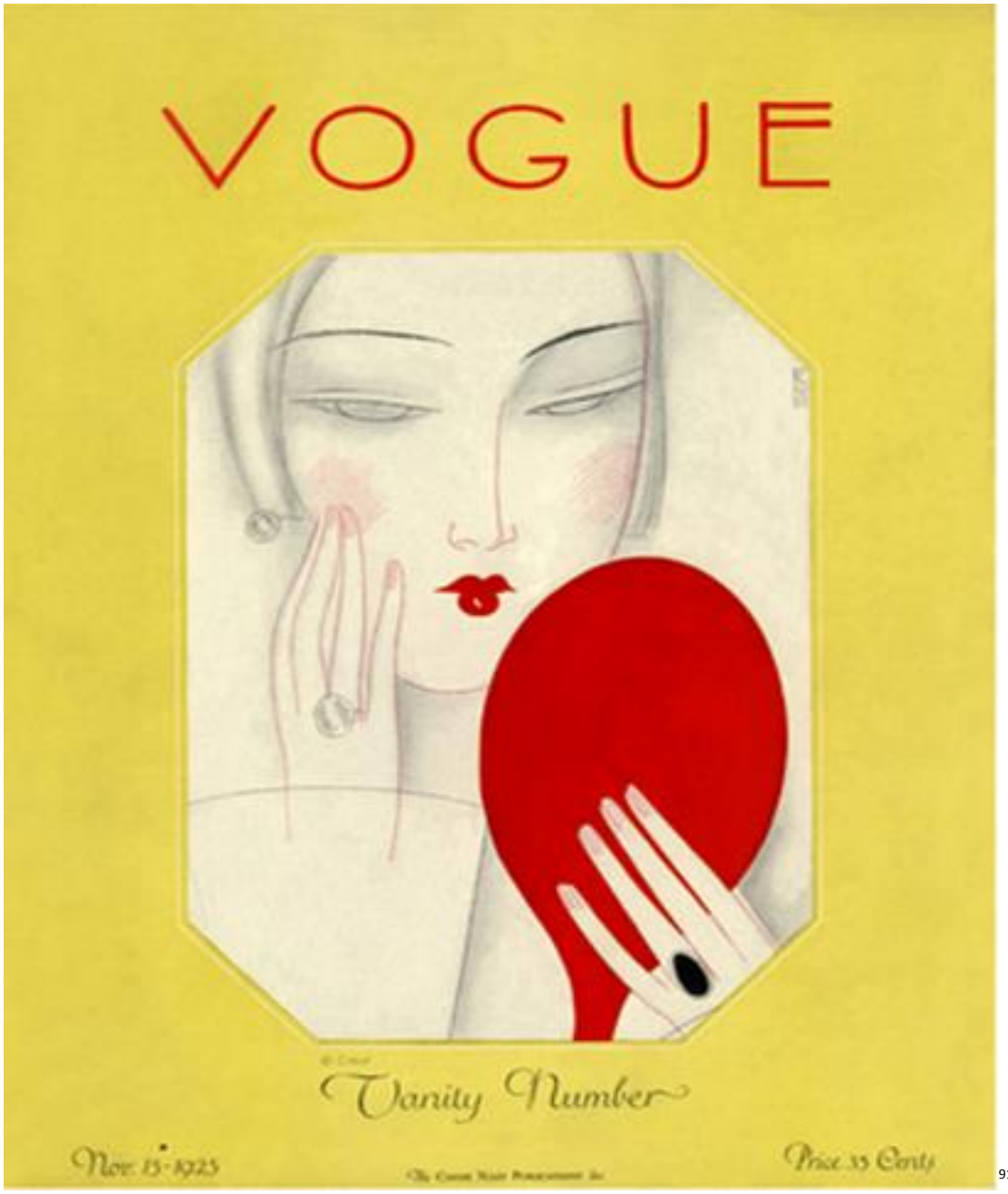
[912] In *Some Notes on Rhyming Argot* by Sir Vincent Troubridge, Polly Flinders is again mentioned: "Cockneys in those days would not have dreamed of using anything but Polly Flinders (incidentally the name of the heroine of the English Christmas Pantomime of Robinson Crusoe; note how many rhyming slang words are derived from the theatre) for windows." Bearing in mind that Sinbad the Sailor and Robinson Crusoe are both tales associated with travel and sea faring voyages, it is possible that *The Ottawa Citizen* may have suffered from some confusion. Robinson Crusoe does indeed contain a character named Polly. However, editions and scripts I have considered only contain a Polly Perkins as their heroine. Sourced from: *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature,* volume xxvi, 1946 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1958) p.14

[913] Reed, Christopher, "A *Vogue* That Dare Not Speak its Name: Sexual Subculture during the Editorship of Dorothy Todd, 1922-1926" in *Fashion Theory*, Volume 10, Issue 1 & 2 (London: Berg, 2006) pp.39-72

 [914]

Figure 98

[914] Evening Gown, Rahvis London, photographed by Clifford Collin, appeared in *Vogue i*n the issue of June 1947. This well-know photograph represents fully, the importance *Vogue* places upon fashion. The image of a model fully made-up and clothed in the most extravagant of couture ballgowns personifies the same imagery bound up in Polly Flinders' new dress. Unlike the soot in the nursery rhyme however, the Rahvis model is placed amidst the damage and destruction caused by conflict in the war-torn stairwell of a London home.



[915]

Figure 99

[915] *Vogue*, 15th November 1925

[916]

Figure 100

[916] *Vogue*, Late November 1924

pseudonym of Polly Flinders"[917] and as such accredits the articles written by Flinders to have been written by Todd herself. Further investigation has proven this judgement to be incorrect. In an article from *The Dial* of December 1924 titled, "Virginia Woolf," Clive Bell writes: "Here is an extract from a letter which reached me not ten days ago. It was written by an exquisitely civilised lady of fashion, herself a charming but too rare author […]"[918] Clive Bell continues on to cite the contents of the letter, which is from Mary Hutchinson; the "exquisitely witty lady of fashion"

> […] and then the odd lady in the train. In spite of all she was a pleasure. I must tell you I was alone in a first-class carriage with the old thing; she was, I suppose well off, though she had had the greatest shock of her life (in a life full of shocks) last year when the bank failed. […] This was literally her conversation — could Virginia have invented better? Her first remark to a maid who had come to see her off: "Gracious! I'm not in a lavatory carriage! I shall burst before I get to Portsmouth! [...] I cough almost all the time. I went twenty-eight voyages with my husband. I have been round the world. My husband is dead. So are all my children. So are my brothers and sisters; I have hardly a friend, every year another one dies.[919]

The "odd ladies" stream of consciousness continues:

> May I give you my card? May I know your name? We were driving into Chichester station — I should have said Miss Flinders, but somehow in the confusion, I stammered "Mrs H-----"" and her last words were really these — how is it that Virginia would have known? "Not a relation of the Mrs H----- who was eaten by a tiger?[920]

[917] Reed, Christopher, "A *Vogue* That Dare Not Speak its Name: Sexual Subculture during the Editorship of Dorothy Todd, 1922-1926" in *Fashion Theory*, Volume 10, Issue 1 & 2 (London: Berg, 2006) p.45
[918] Bell, Clive , "Virginia Woolf" in *The Dial*, December 1924 p.451
[919] ibid. p.462
[920] ibid. p.464

It is this letter within Clive Bell's critique in *The Dial* of the work of Woolf which proves the identity of the writer behind the pseudonym, Polly Flinders. Further to this, in his biography of Aldous Huxley, Nicholas Murray also acknowledges Hutchinson's pseudonym and assesses her relationship within Bloomsbury and her style of writing:

> Early in December 1922, Huxley wrote from the offices of *Vogue* at Holborn to Mary Hutchinson, whom he had been seeing quite regularly at dinner parties with her husband Jack. Mary Hutchinson's name is to be found scattered throughout the voluminous reminiscences of Bloomsbury — mostly for her affair with Clive Bell — but also for her entanglement with others such as Virginia Woolf who seems to have enjoyed a complicated relationship with her. […] She was a writer — of one book; the aptly named Fugitive Pieces (1927) — and had contributed, like Huxley, to the *Athenaeum* and *Vogue* — her essays in the latter appearing under the pseudonym of Polly Flinders. It is slight stuff, with a vein of higher coquetry [...] and peppered with quotations from French poetry and (rather too frequently) from Proust. The most vigorous passage in the whole book is her praise of Diaghilev for having breached the defensive wall of English philistinism with the thrilling modernism of the Russian ballet.[921]

Flinders first appears in *Vogue* in Late December 1923 with an article titled, "A Quoi Revent Les Jeunes Filles?" It is interesting to note that there are several articles from Late August 1922 that appear under the initials of M.H. Given that Bell, and a citation from *Vogue* itself both identify Flinders as both a "civilised" and a "witty" "lady of fashion," it is also interesting that the articles by M.H. are related to the fashion, style and society subject matters of the type that *Vogue* readers pre-Todd were accustomed to. The first article appearing under the initials of M.H

[921] Murray, Nicholas, *Aldous Huxley: A Biography* (London: St. Martin's Press, 2003) p.202

 [922]

Figure 101

is titled; "Paris enjoys brilliant weekends at Deauville"[923] the second,"The Mode pays homage to new French fabrics"[924] as well as "Fur plays the star part in a Winter's Tale"[925] and "A traveller's guide to smartness."[926] M.H continued to write these particular kinds of features for British *Vogue* well into the final year of Todd's tenure.

The caption underneath the portrait which so proudly proclaims Polly Flinders to *Vogue* readers continues on to state: "[…] It is not easy to imagine that airy and fantastic pen wielded by so grave a person. But here she is, the witty lady of fashion with the cynical glance and the touch of sentiment."[927] Flinders is identified as "a witty lady of fashion with the cynical glance" again

[922] Mary Hutchinson with Clive Bell
Sourced from: http://www.spartacus.schoolnet.co.uk/JbellC2.jpg
accessed on 29th December 2012
[923] M.H, "Paris enjoys brilliant weekends at Deauville" *Vogue*, Late August 1922 p.30
[924] M.H. "The Mode pays homage to new French fabrics" *Vogue*, Early September 1922 p.39
[925] M.H. "Fur plays the star part in a Winter's Tale" *Vogue*, Early November 1922 p.45
[926] M.H. "A travellers guide to smartness" *Vogue*, Late June 1923 p.26
[927] Anonymous, "So this is Polly Flinders..." *Vogue*, Late October 1924 p.58

acknowledging the “wicked[ness]” that Reed identifies. Flinders is not merely a dedicated devotee of fashion, but a much more active critic of it. Like the picture of Woolf examined in chapter three, Flinders is not clad in anything that would be considered ‘fashionable’ or revolutionary in the mid 1920s. Her outfit harks back to time before the slim silhouette, the shingled hair and the rakish female masculinity. Flinders is corseted, buttoned and starched, clasping her hands in the folds of a full-bodied skirt. Flinders can be said to be demonstrating more than “a touch of sentiment” for an era long passed and this historical “sentiment” is a constant element in her articles. The caption underneath this image also states, rather puzzlingly that Flinders “has sometimes been described as “the modern Millamant.”[928] The assessment of Hutchinson — whch alludes to the protagonist of William Congreve's play *The Way of the World* — is noteworthy because of its literary context and the literary associations *Vogue* promoted between 1922 and 1926.

I wish to move now to an analysis of the articles of Hutchinson and how they too go about promoting the same aesthetic that I have found to be present throughout Todd’s *Vogue*, specifically I would like to consider them in relation to the articles by Richardson and Woolf. The first of these articles, which I believe to have particular significance in relation to Richardson’s article, is titled “Femininities.”[929] After an opening citation which again references playwright William Congreve, Flinders begins:

> Our young ladies get in turn abused and commended: sometimes they are compared with the grandes dames of the eighteenth century and then they get frowned at; sometimes they are thought simply to fall short of virtue; sometimes with smiles likened for love of riot and luxury to Cleopatra. Imagine a lady painted by Watteau [...] Imagine the compact

[928] Millamant was the name of the female protagonist of William Congreve's restoration play, *The Way of the World.* The significance of this identification with Hutchinson to Millamant was considered by myself in my paper at the "Women in Magazines" Conference at Kingston University in June 2012
[929] Flinders, Polly, "Femininities" *Vogue*, Early August 1924 p.43

> little row of words which fell from her lips like pearls [...] She is very charming; but so no doubt are you, young lady whom Lady Frances Balfour thinks fast, and whom Miss Viola Tree thinks good-hearted, simple and frank.[930]

Here, as in Richardson's article, Flinders draws upon artwork by a male artist to examine the condition of femininity as it is contemporarily considered. In this case Flinders uses the example of Watteau and the associations formed around his depictions of female subjects. As in Richardson's utilization of the Mona Lisa, the point is made that the subjects of these Watteau paintings are also muted and their image is interpreted solely through the eyes of a man. This image of womanhood is considered to be charming, but the young ladies to whom Flinders addresses this article, are being assessed according to their personas rather than their appearances. As in Richardson's article, the notion that a need for a consideration of the consciousness of femininity is expressed here. This is not, however the only semblance to Richardson's article. The idea of the masculine fallacy that considers the twentieth century woman to be "a new type" is also re-expressed. It is through fashion that Flinders expresses the notion that past present and future combine in women:

> After pondering on the swift changing fashions, and the number of butterflies we can in a very short time be nowadays, after counting up the heaps of discarded colored wings — skirts like blades and petals — pointed and snub shoes — long and short gloves — which have succeeded — which keep on succeeding each other — one realizes how very seldom one sees, how much one would like to see — say —an old jacket. [...] Our clothes have not time to help us, and so it is sometimes difficult to see what we are really like — we tend to resemble one another and never to remember ourselves.[931]

[930] Flinders, Polly, "Femininities" *Vogue*, Early August 1924 p.43
[931] ibid.

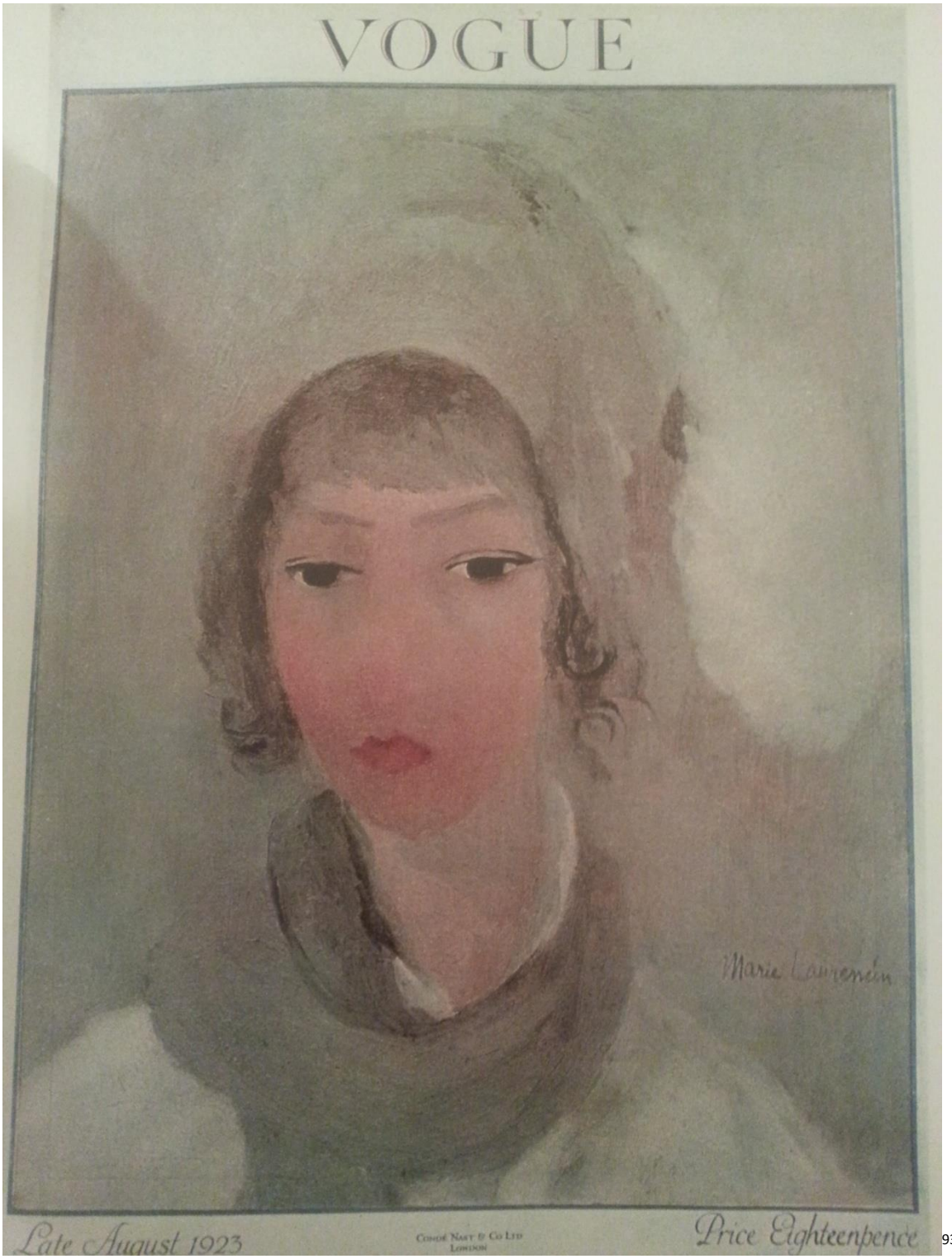
Flinders moves from the historical invocation of Watteau's ladies, to the women painted by the modernist painter, Marie Laurencin and in so doing, cleverly insinuates that the essence of essential womanhood outside of time and space can only be depicted by a woman:

> For this reason some of us love Marie Laurencin, that, although she is modern, as modern as anything can be, there is in her delicate and sensitive painting something démodé about the subjects of her pictures; shading a very modern little face is a very shabby little hat; that head is not shingled — over the shoulder hangs a fair long lock tied with a pink ribbon, Charlotte "should not" wear fewer; Melanie's feather belies her cape...and so exquisitely, gently, these types of our age emerge brushed with an unexpected melancholy as though they were conscious of their inevitable characters in an age when feminine character is out of place — as though they knew that they had worn their hats and jackets rather too long."[932]

Flinders is utilizing the principle of *Vogue* as a fashion magazine to express the foundations of this 1920s female aesthetic. Women, she says may become different "butterflies" — or in Richardson's terms exists as "chameleons" — with each change of clothes, but their innate consciousness is unalterable: outside of the fashions of the body of each passing epoch. As Marie Laurencin is said to be doing in her works, past, present and future must be necessarily incorporated to fully accept and to understand the conditions of womanhood and the position of femininity. Further to this, Flinders is also commenting upon the evanescent nature of fashion:

> Do not the bangles break every day? The pearls are large and false; her dress for a season; scent will change [...] Does she not know better than anyone ever did — and whether from folly or wisdom let us not inquire, sufficient is it that she agree with the sage — and

[932] Flinders, Polly, "Femininities" *Vogue*, Early August 1924 p.43



[933]

Figure 102

[933] *Vogue*, Late August 1923 front cover art by Marie Laurencin. Although the work of Laurencin was a constant present inside Todd's *Vogue*, this was her only cover for the magazine. The cover was unusually and interestingly not duplicated on the front of the American edition. Laurencin's only other *Vogue* cover appeared on the issue of April 1931. She did interestingly design two covers for *Vanity Fair*, which revealingly, did not appear until February 1928 and May 1929.

> does she not act as though she knew that all is vanity?[934]

Women possess the ability to clothe themselves according to the customs of a particular time but are simultaneously aware that their consciousness, is essentially unaffected by this outward display of vanity.

In one final comment upon "Femininities" I wish to draw upon Flinders' comments regarding the Victorians, which as we shall see are subjects she also critiques in her article "A Plea for a Renaissance." As has already been acknowledged, Flinders uses the contrasting opinions of Viola Tree and Frances Balfour to foreground how young ladies of the twentieth century are thought of, but it is mainly Balfour's belief in them as "fast" and "bad" that leads to Flinders making a much broader statement regarding both outmoded and incorrect assumptions with regards to femininity. She states boldly:

> Lady Frances is simply peculiar. She belongs to an age whose standards of good and evil differ from any standards that have ever been held, but it seems to be accepted now that the Victorians were like people marooned. Nobody knows why this catastrophe happened, but they occupy a sort of desert island in history, holding no correspondence with their fellows; and they suffer from all the disabilities of unfortunate castaways; their views are curious - almost monstrous from being hatched at such close quarters - and quite irrelevant.[935]

Flinders is demonstrating the changing nature of the times and the modernist rejection of the regimentations of previous eras. We are reminded here, as we are by Flinders' assessment of the changing fashions of the body, of Woolf's paper, "Mr Bennett and Mrs Brown" in the way in which

[934] Flinders, Polly, "Femininities" *Vogue*, Early August 1924 p.43
[935] ibid.

it demands an annihilation of the values and customs of the past in favor of untainted development in the future. This acknowledgment for the need to challenge the past in order to pave the way for progression is demanded in the next of Flinders' articles I shall examine; "A Plea for a Renaissance."[936]

In this article, Flinders is working within the parameters of the *Vogue* "formula" and utilizing the guise of reviewing a play — the Phoenix Society's reproduction of *Love in a Nunnery*[937] — in order to express her "plea" to progress from the restraints and traditional methods of the past and instead to utilize what is emerging and modish in the cultural sphere. Flinders establishes memory to be the main theme for her article, expressing the idea that "if man could keep his memory he would never grow old." and describing how much more is to be gained from not being subject to forgetfulness. It is with this main principle in mind that Flinders turns her attention to critiquing *Love in a Nunnery* and identifies a great "discrepancy between the play and the performance." Flinders makes it known that she is familiar with the play, identifying herself as a "spectator who remembered" and thus one who was "depressed" by the performance: "earth was shoveled over quickly, and people, getting into their coats, thought of their ailments and of little jokes, and went home." According to Flinders, the play failed to make any lasting impressions upon its modern audience — "in spite of the insidious powers of language the play was dead" and "we were not inspired." Flinders appropriates this lack of stimulation to have arisen from the actors and their sense of having forgotten "how to kiss, laugh and flirt" as well as their disregard for "the meaning of words." Flinders offers a solution to the problem of

[936] Flinders, Polly, "A Plea for a Renaissance" *Vogue,* Late April 1925 p.65

[937] The Phoenix Society was generated as an offshoot to the Stage Society in September 1919. The Phoenix Society was dedicated to revive forgotten plays of the Restoration era and staged 26 performances between 1919 and 1926
Child, Harold, "Revivals of English Dramatic Works 1919-1925" in *The Review of English Studies,* Volume 2, Number 6 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1926) pp.177-188 identifies that *The Assignation or Love in a Nunnery* was staged by the Phoenix Society at the Aldwych Theatre in January 1925. John Dryden's play, originally produced in 1667 had not been performed since 1743. T.s Elliot, himself attempting to resuscitate the influence of neglected playwrights as demonstrated in his 1919 essay on Jonson, wrote in "The London Letter" his regular feature for the *Dial* that the Phoenix Society's reproduction of Jonson's *Volpone* to have been "the most important theatrical event of the year in London." Eliot, T. S. "London Letter" *The Dial*, May 1921 p.686

staging an old play to impress a modern audience which involves employing the work of new artists:

> We have long, too long, been at the mercy of the unimaginative and untalented. Could we not have sometimes scenery by Mr. Duncan Grant? Our patrons sigh over the paintings of Watteau, over the furniture of the eighteenth century, particularly the Italian, yet they seem unable to see what it nearest to their standard in England today is the art of Mr. Grant.[938]

Flinders is not stating that the plays themselves should necessarily be new — it is important to remember the great works of the past — but that their restaging should be inventive and modernized in order to inspire the modern audience into remembering its power outside of epochs in terms of language, and morals:

> We shall put up because we cannot remember precisely the pleasure of excitement, of enticement and wonder; and so we are without measure — without discontent and without appetite.[939]

The audience has left the theatre without the play making any sort of impact on them: they know the plot and had expected it to be performed in such a way: they "put up with" its customary staging and characterisation but cannot be excited by it because it is nothing new. Flinders is proposing that what is traditional and customary be deliberately discarded in favour of new visionary and disruptive means that will create "enticement and wonder and appetite". "A Plea for a Renaissance" is Flinders' — and indeed Todd's — demonstration that times are calling for change, the past need not be forgotten, but it must be contemporarily considered in order to

[938] Flinders, Polly, "A Plea for a Renaissance" *Vogue*, Late April 1925 p.65
[939] ibid.

remain memorable and relevant. The female literary aesthetic of the female modernists was concerned with the promotion of the condition of womanhood which combines past, present and future, through the writings of women themselves. “A Plea for a Renaissance” Flinders’ last article for *Vogue*, exemplifies exactly what Todd’s *Vogue* had sought to do. Centrally this was to portray and inform readers of the dawn of a new era in the movements of art, literature and music. In "Marion Dorn: Architect of Floors,[940]" Todd herself emphasised the need for modernism and historicist aesthetics to combine.

In “Femininities,” Flinders drew upon the artwork of Marie Laurencin to draw attention to the ideas held within this feminine literary aesthetic, and she continued to attempt to heighten awareness as to the need for this new way of approaching women and women’s writing in her article dedicated to the artist of Late January 1925. “Marie Laurencin”[941] is by far the most overt of Flinders’ articles in its expression of the need to consider— her “accusations of criticism” — the work of contemporary artists and writers; specifically those of the female sex. Flinders is not only promoting and examining the quality of Laurencin’s work in this editorial, but exclaiming that it has not been fairly considered nor appreciated in its entirety by the very sex that it is so adequately portraying:

> How essentially feminine and original she is! For So many reasons one would guess that she would be sought out as a decorator of women’s rooms. Yet has she been? It is strange that in an age when the flag of feminism is everywhere waved a misunderstanding of femininity should have been so complete.[942]

The “misunderstanding” Flinders speaks of here not only re-conjures the masculine fallacy of the

[940] Todd, Dorothy, "Marion Dorn: Architect of Floors" *The Architectural Review*, September 1923 pp.27-29
[941] Flinders, Polly, "Marie Laurencin" *Vogue*, Late January 1925 p.43
[942] ibid.

"new woman" identified by Richardson in "Women and the Future," but is also a scathing and frustrated comment on the lack of capacity to see beyond what the eyes take in. For a complete understanding of Laurencin's art, one must attempt to delve beyond the surface — which consequently is described as having a "a flat and fresco like quality" — the mind must set itself to interpreting "the other element" in Laurencin's work: "Here is an artist who is expressing […] consciously, persistently, that flavour that no man can give, and for which the world is constantly inquiring."[943] In Flinders' view, Laurencin is expressing on canvas what the torchbearers of this female literary aesthetic were communicating through words: only women can adequately and thoroughly express the consciousness of womanhood. As I have observed in relation to Flinders' other *Vogue* articles, the place of fashion in expressing certain ideas and principles of this female literary aesthetic, played an important part in the expression of Flinders' own views regarding this aesthetic. "Marie," Flinders states, "is the enemy of chic," and through her explanations of why we not only see Flinders playing out her role as "that witty lady of fashion" but also a further promotion of the ideals of this female literary aesthetic. Flinders identifies that what is unique about Laurencin's depictions of femininity is her exploration into "the perverse desirability of women," her acknowledgment of "the ugly, comic and inconsistent" and her valuing of the deeper meaning of "the particular possession." In "Femininities," Flinders spoke of the contemporary need for "an old jacket" — a motif intended to represent fashion's lack of longevity — and expressed the notion that although clothing may be frequently discarded and replaced for another style by its wearer, the female body and consciousness remain outside of fashions trends and modes. In her exploration of Marie Laurencin, Flinders draws on her ability to paint women clad by accessories incongruous to the age through thoroughly modern stylistic means:

> the emblems of femininity […] she places them suddenly, capriciously, in a picture as though she had ravished them from a world where they would otherwise have been

[943] Flinders, Polly, "Marie Laurencin" *Vogue*, Late January 1925 p.43

> destroyed by moth and rust.[944]

Laurencin's painting might as well be known as the answer to Flinders' earlier "Plea for a Renaissance" in that it incorporates the past — in the form of outmoded fashion accessories and adornments of the body — the present — in terms of her painting style and vision — and future — her works, promote artistic development and the move away from restrictions and conformity. As well as doing this, Laurencin's work represents what Flinders deems as the way forward by portraying women to exist within past, present and future and thus aligns herself to the ideals of this female aesthetic in modernism. Laurencin is indeed the "enemy of chic" in that she does not limit herself to presenting only the fashions of *la mode* but that does not stop her being viewed by Flinders as "sophisticated:"

> How sophisticated she is! She paints in her drawing-room surrounded by the literature of the world; through the carefully bound volumes, through the muslin curtains of her windows, echoes of knowledge, one feels, reach her, which "are to her but the sound of lyres and flutes." […] A boudoir or a bedroom by Marie Laurencin ought to be desired by a bride and possessed by a "lady of fashion."[945]

Interestingly, "sophistication" takes on another form from what *Vogue* readers would have defined it prior to Todd's takeover. It is now more to do with knowledge and being "surrounded by the literature of the world." This final paragraph also hints again at the personal relationships enjoyed by *Vogue* contributors and their circle. It will be remembered that Flinders has been identified as the "lady of fashion" spoken of here, denoting that she is indeed in possession of a work by the artist she is promoting, and the inclusion of a description of how Marie paints demonstrates a deeper personal relationship rather than a simple praise, promotion and

[944] Flinders, Polly, "Marie Laurencin" *Vogue*, Late January 1925 p.43
[945] ibid.

admiration of her paintings.

Finally I wish to draw upon Flinders' first article for *Vogue* which appears in the Late December 1923 edition and is entitled, "A Quoi Revent Les Jeunes Filles?"[946] What is notable about this particular article is its use of terms which Richardson's "Women and the Future" article utilised in Early May 1924. Flinders begins by citing Anatole France: "He says that civilisation gave women veils and religion gave men scruples."[947] The important symbolism of the veil as used by Richardson and earlier examined, lends itself to add an element of satire here. According to Flinders, this veil, "wraps [women] in glamour"[948] to be shrouded in mystery. The veil also indicates that women's position behind this shroud leaves their "destinies [as] unexpected, so unforeseen." Under a veil which has been placed over them by patriarchal "civilisation," women are not in charge of their own futures, and cannot decide for themselves how to shape their lives: "Their fate is not like Dick Whittington's, who made up his mind to be Lord Mayor of London. Theirs is more like Ganymede's — an eagle will pounce; fancy!"[949] In determining the female fate to be "more like Ganymede's" Flinders highlights the power of beauty, reminding us of the significance of the word "glamour." Ganymede, in Greek mythology, was abducted by Zeus because of his appearance. In utilising this mythology, Flinders is suggesting that women are captured by men because of their beauty. The myth of Ganymede represents a different kind of notoriety to that of Dick Whittington. The penultimate paragraph may on the surface offer an open warning against marriage to certain men through the metaphor of "hunting," but this same metaphor reveals an alternative interpretation. "It is advisable," Flinders instructs, "for young ladies to scan the sky to see what birds of prey approach." As well as continuing with the allusion

[946] Flinders, Polly, "A Quoi Revent Les Jeunes Filles?" *Vogue*, Late December 1923 p.51
[947] ibid.
[948] idem. Note the use of the word glamour here. "Glamour defined as: an attractive or exciting quality that makes certain people or things seem appealing [as modifier] denoting or relating to sexually suggestive or mildly pornographic photography or publications, archaic enchantment; magic."
Sourced from: http://oxforddictionaries.com/definition/glamour
accessed on 7th May 2012
[949] Flinders, Polly, "A Quoi Revent Les Jeunes Filles?" *Vogue*, Late December 1923 p.51

to Ganymede and Zeus the eagle, the image of looking upwards also implies freedom, space, the unbound and the limitless: endless possibilities for the ambitious female to accomplish success. The image of "birds of prey" on the surface may represent the approach and capture by a male, but is not this image — bearing in mind the associations of Ganymede and Zeus and the negative connotations of the word "capture" — more suggestive of men existing as an obstacle to female flight; to female success? When considered alongside Flinders' plea "let them see a picture, let them dream again" it can be further suggested that Flinders is promoting a different kind of lifestyle, a different kind of aspiration: "Very romantic women may dream of being a more sympathetic Fanny to a Keats, a perfect mistress to a Byron, but beware! Genius is often strange, lonely, and cruel."[950] This sentiment, in preparation for the volta of Flinders' editorial piece, is ambivalent. What if Flinders is not only warning women of the consequences of marrying a creative "catch" but suggesting the woman become a genius, able to support and think for herself. The warning of this being that women who seek their own paths may be subject to mockery and isolation; a creative life of solitude.[951] The final paragraph marking the turning point in Flinders' commentary, lends substantial weight to this interpretation as Flinders' overtly beseeches the modern woman:

> It is perhaps not very profitable to dream of heroes — to try and put salt on their tales — be rather heroines and dress yourselves up, thereby discovering your tastes and your talents. Be Queen's sometimes, and sometimes confidantes; sometimes a little ballet dancer spinning all over the world like a top, sometimes Lady Bessborough writing riddles with Sheridan.[952] Think of the exuberant and brilliant Madame de Stael,[953] think of Nell

[950] Flinders, Polly, "A Quoi Revent Les Jeunes Filles?" *Vogue*, Late December 1923, p.51
[951] Dorothy Todd herself never married and little is known of her personal affairs with men and women.
[952] Henrietta Ponsonby, Countess of Bessborough (6 June 1761 – 11 November 1821) took Richard Brinsley Sheridan as one of her many lovers.
[953] Anne Louise Germaine de Staël-Holstein (22 April 1766 – 14 July 1817) published literary works in her own name in 1788 prior to which her works had been published but anonymously. De Stael's novels were highly popular and her analytical commentaries and literary criticisms were also highly regarded by critics and readers alike. Of her, Frederic Harrison has wrote: "her works precede the works of Scott, Byron, Shelley and partly of Chateaubriand, their historical

> Gwynne[954] and Stella,[955] think of gentle Madame de Lafayette[956] walking between Henrietta and M. De la Rouchefoucauld — whom do you love? Which is your sister? Then watch the roads which meet at your feet and decide whether, of all the vehicles approaching, you will choose a barouche, Rolls-Royce, trap, or gypsy-van to carry you away — say to yourself: coach, carriage, wheelbarrow, cart — in fact, in another way, count your cherry stones.[957]

Flinders is urging independence and creativity. The women of her example, those she highlights for their creativity and intelligence as well as their gumption and resourcefulness were also wives and mothers. In utilising the image of motion, she is similarly encouraging the independent life in which a modern woman can make her own decisions and pursue her own ambitions. The article ends by informing the modern woman how blessed she is to be able to have such opportunities available to her: the world is vast and accessible and open to being explored. The "young girls" of the 1920s are capable of lifting the veil which for so long has hidden them from their own futures.

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importance is great in the development of modern romanticism, of the romance of the heart, the delight in nature and in the art, antiquities, and history of Europe." It is also important to note, given the subject of Flinders' article, that de Stael did not marry for love or live off the profession of her husband. Sourced from: Sheppard, Robert, "Review: A Vindication of the Rights of Women" sourced from: http://www.goodreads.com/review/show/629479489
accessed on 4th March 2011

[954] Eleanor "Nell" Gwyn (2nd February 1650-14th November 1687) has been described as one of the first English actresses and the embodiment of the ideals of Restoration comedy. Her acting career and delight in the stage and the theatre undoubtedly led to her becoming one of Charles II 's long-term mistresses. She was also known for her wit and intelligence, befriending literary legends Aphra Behn and the Earl of Rochester. Interestingly, she also continued to act during and after her affair with the King which also resulted in the birth of two sons.

[955] Possible reference to Philip Sidneys 1580's(?) sonnet sequence *Astrophel and Stellla.* Stella being the "star" of the star lover.

[956] Madame de la Fayette (1634?-25th May 1693) what is interesting in Flinders' application of la Fayette is not that she is accredited with writing one of the earliest examples of French historical novels, *La Princesse de Cleves,* but her relationship to the women that she walks between in Flinders' article. The Henrietta that Flinders speaks of is Princess Henrietta of England, daughter of Charles I and Henrietta Maria, who asked la Fayette to write her biography. "M. De la Rouchefoucauld" refers not to a woman but to Francois, the male author of Memoirs, Maxims and letters. Also, La Fayette was also a great friend of Madame de Sévignés, earlier mentioned in Flinders' article *Femininities*. This circle of intellectual minds is also commented upon in Woolf's article "Madame de Sévigné" in which she writes, "She is an intellectual, quick to enjoy the wit of La Rochefoucauld, to relish the fine discrimination of Madame de La Fayette." Sourced from: http://ebooks.adelaide.edu.au/w/woolf/virginia/w91d/chapter8.html
accessed on 4th March 2011

[957] Flinders, Polly, "A Quoi Revent Les Jeunes Filles?" *Vogue*, Late December 1923 p.51 "count your cherry stones" refers to the action of counting in time to the song "Tinker Tailor..." which Flinders is mirroring with her options of "coach, carriage, wheelbarrow, cart."

The imagery of the veil is not the only likeness to Richardson's article. Flinders also identifies the female position to bear resemblance to that of the "chameleon." In describing women as chameleons, Flinders promotes the central principles of this female literary aesthetic, specifically, that past present and future exist simultaneously in female consciousness. Within womanhood exists the ability to hold all opinions and viewpoints simultaneously making her "a complete self."[958] In posing the question "what do young girls dream of?" Flinders acknowledges, like Richardson in her article five months later, the ever advancing position of women to be considered equals alongside men. It is important that throughout this article, Flinders draws upon artists and writers and demands that women become creators of works of art in their own right: a frank and powerful statement which promotes women's increasing presence in the room of the modernists own. These articles by Flinders for *Vogue* endorse the ideals of the female literary aesthetic that Todd's *Vogue* was intent on encouraging.

5.5 "A Plea for a Renaissance:"[959] Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has aimed to show that the literary aesthetic of the female modernists was being showcased and developed within the pages of *Vogue* between 1922 and 1926. The female figures I have chosen to demonstrate the extent of this advancement into the public literary sphere are equally capable of indicating that such an aesthetic could be articulated through non-fictional pieces published within products of mass culture. *Vogue* under Todd helps to formulate and envisage the future of the arts — critical articles are debated and reassessed and contemporary literature is discussed and reviewed within *Vogue's* pages — and the magazine can thus be identified as a mouthpiece for the literary aesthetic of the female modernists alongside the work of their male counterparts. It may have only existed in this way from 1922 until 1926, but Todd's *Vogue* made previously unheard female voices collectively audible and gave space for

[958] Richardson, Dorothy, "Women and the Future" *Vogue*, Early May 1924 p.70
[959] Flinders, Polly, "A Plea for a Renaissance" *Vogue*, Late April 1925 p.65

a movement to develop. The articles of Flinders, Richardson and Woolf do not stand as separate editorials as their contents can be compared and contrasted as I have shown in the sections above. Todd helped *Vogue* become a forum for the ideas of these women. But, as the previous chapters of this research have shown, Todd's *Vogue* was also promoting a new approach to literature and the arts which was the idea of a collaborative cultural input. *Vogue* exists as proof that women were making progress in their plight to be regarded as professional writers and critics and in the way their work was valued as equally proportionate to their male counterparts. *Vogue* did indeed become a metaphorical room of the modernist's own where the modernist agenda could be advanced by men and women in a collaborative, discursive fashion. With this attitude of equality in mind, *Vogue* can be said to have offered the chance for the veil — which had for so long hindered women's progression on the road to becoming writers, artists and critics and which had hidden them from the professional and intellectual sphere as a whole — to be lifted. The articles of Flinders, Richardson and Woolf demonstrated to the modernists themselves and the readership of *Vogue* in general, the possible position of "women in the future:"[960] as writers uninhibited and unrestrained by their gender, free to express ideas and principles, question notions and disregard established traditions in exactly the same way that men had been permitted to do for centuries. Fullbrook has previously termed the plight of Dorothy Richardson's expression of the new female literary aesthetic to be desolate and without followers, I believe that this study of the female writings within *Vogue* has provided a rebuttal for this claim. Richardson, and her fellow female modernists were in good company in the room of their own at *Vogue*.

[960] Richardson, Dorothy, “Women and the Future” *Vogue*, Early May 1924 p.32 & 70

Conclusion

The "Renaissance" Began in 1922:

Thesis Conclusion

Figure 103

[961] The first, second, third and fourth inserts for the cover of the 90th birthday edition of *Vogue*, December 2006. Source, authors own.

British *Vogue* is currently just two years from celebrating its 100th birthday. The last milestone the magazine passed was commemorated with the special 90th birthday edition. It was this edition which first compelled me to study the magazine during the notorious 1920s. This issue showcased the richness of *Vogue's* past in terms of its contribution to both fashion and wider culture. The writers whom Todd recruited to her pages had been initially alien to publishing in glossy fashion focused publications, but were common place and at home in the most glossy of them all by the mid-1930s. In 1926, this literary tradition was damned as "too highbrow" and at odds with the magazine's fashion formula. Eighty years on, critical contributions are heralded as an accustomed part of the magazines success:

> From Evelyn Waugh to Jeanette Winterson over the years *Vogue* has commissioned many of the past century's most eminent writers, artists and critics. Here we look back at nine illustrious decades of arts coverage.[962]

In this feature, entitled "Art's and Minds" three examples of "eminent" contributors are from the era of Dorothy Todd. *Vogue* cites the work of Vita Sackville West ("The Lure of the Circus") Virginia Woolf ("Indiscretions") and Edith Sitwell ("The Work of Gertrude Stein"). There are no examples of contemporary writers, artists or critics prior to 1922 — the year Todd came to *Vogue,* but the feature does reveal a plethora of renowned contributors in the decades post Todd. Despite the majority of her contributors leaving *Vogue* in her defence in September 1926, many of them returned to the magazine in the years that followed. The commemorative issue cites the editorials of D. H. Lawrence of August 1928, Evelyn Waugh one month later and Aldous Huxley in September 1929. The "prestigious roll call of contributors"[963] which present editor, Alexandra Shulman makes reference to, began to be accumulated during the years of Dorothy Todd's editorship, and it is to her that *Vogue* now owes this association with such an esteemed literary

[962] Anonymous, "Arts and Minds" *Vogue*, December 2006 p.107
[963] Shulman, Alexandra "Editor's Letter" *Vogue,* December 2006 p.26

pedigree. Todd was the instrumental figure behind the initial introduction of writers and artists into the realm of high cost, high circulation, and high fashion magazines for women, which such magazines now depend on as part of their editorial formulas. This thesis has aimed to show that it was Dorothy Todd who first begun to argue that there could be more to a fashion magazine than just clothes. Her inclusion of contributions from contemporary artists and writers, reviews and criticisms, highlighted the increased awareness of a correlation between the fashions of the body and the fashions of the mind. Todd's removal from the magazine's editorship in 1926 has seldom marked anything but both Todd's and *Vogue's* era of failure. Retrospectively it can be said that it was these four years which influenced and informed the future of female fashion magazines more than any other period. It is unlikely that without Todd's input — her amalgamation of the highbrow with high fashion, her inclusion of intellectual criticism alongside the promotion of the cult of celebrity — *Vogue* and her competitors in the marketplace would have become the "thinking Fashion bible[s] for intelligent women"[964] which they are now marketed as and considered to be, by their readerships. This thesis has above all else, aimed to contribute more thoroughly to the increasing amount of scholarly interest surrounding Todd's *Vogue,* and attempted to align it ever closer to the work of the modernist magazines. This final section will conclude this research with some closing observations which highlight how Dorothy Todd sparked a magazine renaissance when she became editor in 1922.

"Why should not what has already been emerge anew?"[965] pondered Schlegal in 1800 and in so doing not only summarized the sentiments of Joyce in his Irish epic and the modernist fervour in general, but also evoked the very sentiment that has continually served to revolutionize, evolve and reenergize fashions in clothing and which *Vogue*, as in 1922, continues

[964] The recent tagline ascribed to *Harper's Bazaar* as cited at: http://www.hearst.co.uk/magazines/011-1417-Hearst-Magazines-UK-releases-solid-set-of-combined-ABC-figures-for-July--Dec-2013.html

[965] Schlegal, Karl cited in Kiberd, Declan "Introduction" in Joyce, James, *Ulysses* [1922] (London: Penguin Modern Classics, 2000) p.xvi

to do today. At the time of concluding this research project, September issues of *Vogue* are on sale across the world. In the recent documentary film "The September Issue" by R. J. Cutler, the making of this particular issue is showcased and its significance explained. The film may have only focused on the publication of the American edition, but the significance of the month of September across the global fashion calendar is continually emphasised throughout the picture. Executive Fashion Director at American *Vogue*, Candy Pratts Price really highlights this when she states: "September is the January in fashion. This is when I change."[966]

[967]

Figure 104

[966] Pratts Prince, Candy quoted in Cutler, R. J. *The September Issue*, by A&E Indie Films, 2007
[967] Front Cover, *Vogue*, September 2014. Image, author's own

The issue of September 2014 is British *Vogue's* most immense — a staggering 460 pages in length. This is not an accomplishment that is glossed over. The number is emblazoned proudly across the front cover, forcing cover star Lara Stone to share the spotlight. There is a lot to cover — these 460 pages encompass everything from books, baking, Balenciaga blouses, bags and beauty. It is a *Vogue* built upon the influence of Dorothy Todd and even includes a few not so veiled references to the 1920s. Turning to page 300, we find a photographic feature entitled "Abstract Thinking" which is shot by Mario Testino, but which also includes set design by Jack Flanagan. Flanagan, in "*Vogue* Notices" proudly proclaims himself to be "a modernist at heart"[968] in the note which accompanies his work. The heading heralds modernism's motto: "Make it New!" The September issue of *Vogue*, more than any other of the years' issues, really emphasises the extent of the compatibility between modernism and fashion which was present in the 1920s. The importance of newness unites fashion and modernism, to use the lexicon of fashion: the two seemingly mismatched pieces seem to complement each other. This was a marriage which only Todd was capable of identifying during the moment of modernism in Britain.

When Polly Flinders — Mary Hutchinson — pleaded for a "renaissance" in her article of Late April 1925, I believe that in her entreaty for innovation in the arts, she aptly expressed the viewpoints and agenda of editor Dorothy Todd. This study of *Vogue* has aimed to show that a "renaissance" — a rebirth, a reconsideration and a renovation — was occurring across the artistic and cultural spectrums, and *Vogue*, as a part of this arena, was playing a role in the dissemination of these developments. Innovation and reconsideration were the focus points of the modernist project and Todd's *Vogue* encapsulated this same spirit as it devoted itself to those self-same aims. Between 1922 and 1926, Todd enabled *Vogue* to become very much a part of the modernist dialogue of development.

[968] Anonymous, "Vogue Notices" *Vogue*, September 2014 p.94

By examining the various other magazines for women which were built on the same foundations as *Vogue*, chapter one essentially marked *Vogue*'s distinction in the periodical marketplace. The chapter revealed how *Vogue*'s proprietors and chief editorial staff have always unrelentingly fostered *Vogue*'s status as the most authoritative and devoted female fashion magazine. The preoccupation with protecting and promoting *Vogue* as a brand has enabled the magazine to develop an overwhelming idolatry prestige: "If fashion is religion, *Vogue* is the bible."[969] It is undoubtedly because of this reputation, that attempts to showcase *Vogue* as anything but a fashion magazine are incredibly difficult. Todd's attempt to divert from *Vogue*'s formula was evidently as arduous a task. This thesis has attempted to highlight Todd's attempts to overcome this branding. Through study of the magazines and her changes to it, It has become apparent that she openly regarded *Vogue's* established single minded approach to fashion publication not only limiting, but antiquated. Todd used *Vogue*'s pages to demonstrate that the word "fashion" encompassed not only clothing, but art, music, design, drama and literature, and in so doing revealed that the fashionable woman was not only well dressed but well aware of these cultural and artistic fashions.

Chapter two was intended to reveal the surprising similarities between Todd's *Vogue* and other forms of magazines which were preoccupied with innovations in the arts. By considering *Vogue* alongside *The Dial* and the *Athenaeum*, I hoped to show the extent of Todd's transformation: the progress of her renaissance. The contributors, the continual emphasis on ideals, missions and the general tone combined to reveal that the distinctions between the different genres of magazines in question was, during the 1920s, not as black and white as initially has been thought to have been the case. This thesis's detailed consideration of *Vogue*'s contents reveals the presence of many of the same themes and elements now associated with modernism and its dissemination through the periodical form. The similarities in contributions and

[969] Opening titles, Cutler, R. J. *The September Issue*, by A&E Indie Films, 2007

contributors referenced throughout this work have revealed the openness of this dialogue, and the shared inclination to promote innovation.

Of course, no study of *Vogue* can ignore the role of fashion, and it has been my aim in part fundamentally to refute Woolman Chase's claim that Dorothy Todd eschewed fashion content during her time as editor. Chapter three revealed the sophisticated —and seldom previously attempted — interplay between clothing, paintings, books and plays. By contextualising the state of fashion during the 1920s, this chapter sought to show that fashion too was being inspired to develop by the modernist zeal for progress. *Vogue*'s more highbrow content has more often been considered as separate from the established fashion features of the magazine, but this part of my research has attempted to reveal the effects of Todd's presentation of clothing alongside the arts. Raymond Mortimer's article, "The Fashions of the Mind" became representative of Todd's overall aims for her magazine: a modern woman was well-dressed and well acquainted with the cultural and artistic developments of the age.

The fascinating figure of Dorothy Todd initially motivated this research and chapter four hopefully marks the beginnings for further, more detailed work. The chapter reveals the intriguing mystery which surrounds Todd's life, as well as the personal passions which were publically —and proudly — projected onto *Vogue*'s pages during her editorship. From the evidence provided in chapter four, the literary aesthetic of the female writers she employed at *Vogue* becomes explainable. Chapter five's documentation and analysis of the work of three matriarchs of modernism, reveals specifically, Todd's belief in the empowerment of the female writer and the artwork's feminine subject matter. The thesis' continual referencing of *Vogue*'s male contributors however reveals how the space offered by Todd's *Vogue* was surprisingly, an un-gendered one, where contributions of both sexes were encouraged and praised. I maintain that between 1922

and 1926, *Vogue* encapsulates the freedom, security and inquisitiveness of what Woolf decreed as the "room of one's own." needed for the modernist renaissance to begin.

Attempting to define modernism is no easy task. Inevitably, in attempting to understand this particular moment within literary history leads the enquirer to the individual study and appreciation of those texts now identified as a part of the modernist canon. In the same way in which it is tricky to explain modernism to someone who has never read *Ulysses*, observed the work of Henri Matisse or listened to the compositions of Claude Debussy, it is also difficult to convince an oblivious audience of a fashion magazine's involvement with modernism. As a teacher of literature would direct the inquisitive student to the essays and fiction of Woolf, the serialisation of *The Waste Land* in T*he Criterion* and to studies which examine the artistic movements series of "isms," I believe that in order to fully begin to appreciate the years between 1922 and 1926 in *Vogue's* history, one must consult the issues now bound together in half year volumes, for “nothing illustrates so clearly what *Vogue* is about than the magazine itself."[970] Exploring these volumes demonstrates, indisputably that in 1922, Dorothy Todd had instrumentally sparked a renaissance in publishing. In her inclusion of fashion alongside elements of modernist culture she propelled the idea that women's magazines could promote not only a well dressed body, but also a well dressed mind.

[970] Shulman, Alexandra "Editor's Letter" *Vogue,* December 2006 p.24

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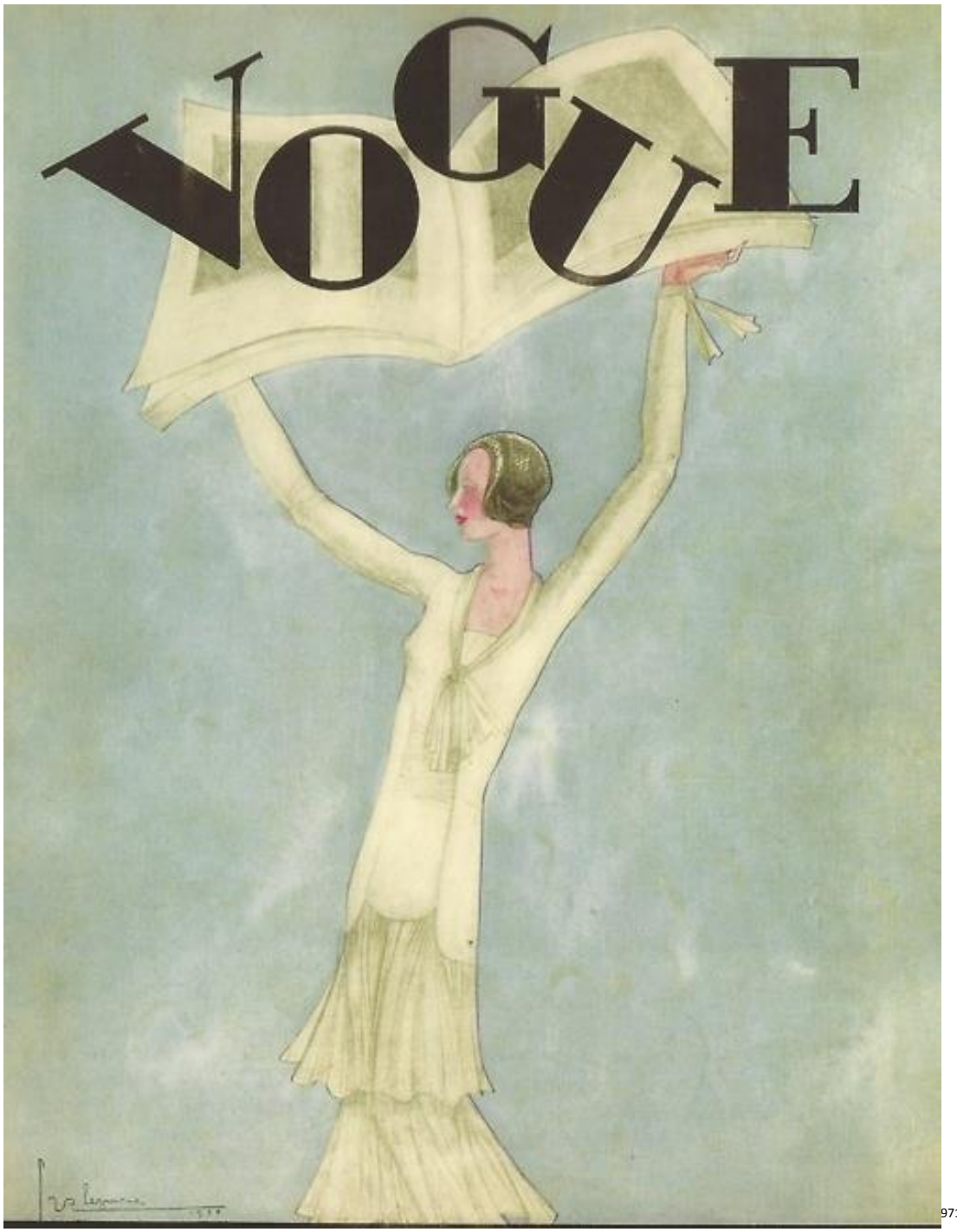

[971]

Figure 105

[971] *Vogue*, April 1930

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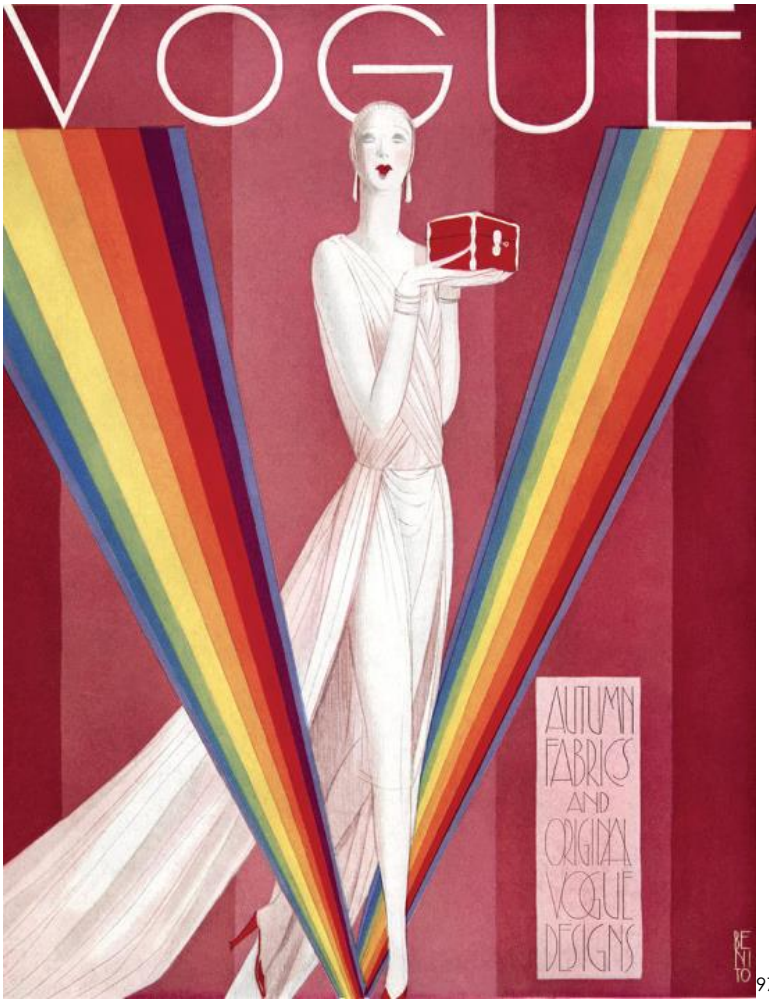

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[972] *Vogue*, Early September 1926

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1924	Early January	The Celestial at Home	56	
1924	Early January	Honolulu holds the Magic Mirror for Mankind	58	
1924	Early January	The Romance of the Snow	70	
1924	Early January	On Her Dressing Table	74	

1924	Early January	Notes of the Month		
1924	Late January	Stockholm in January 1924	21	Inga Norberg
1924	Late January	The Mid-Season Collections in Four Chapters	24	M.H
1924	Late January	Ships Sail into the Hume	28	
1924	Late January	Silent Soil	29	
1924	Late January	Some Winter Playgrounds	30	
1924	Late January	Four Lovely Women in Italian Settings	33	
1924	Late January	New Things Under the Southern Sun	35	
1924	Late January	A New Star at the Embassy Club	40	Yvonne George
1924	Late January	Argyll House, Chelsea	41	Allan Walton
1924	Late January	The Finer Cooking	45	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Late January	Pianos	47	Polly Flinders
1924	Late January	a Distinguished Russian Company	48	
1924	Late January	Seen on the Stage	49	
1924	Late January	The Book of the Thunder Bird	52	
1924	Late January	Pleated frocks cause a ripple of interest	54	
1924	Late January	Vaile provides fresh beauty for the Riviera	55	
1924	Late January	What to Buy in the Shops	56	
1924	Late January	Clothes for the Riviera	57	
1924	Late January	The Chameleon Wardrobe	58	
1924	Late January	A Lesson in Swedish Savoir-Faire	64	L.N
1924	Late January	*Vogue Pattern Service*	66	
1924	Late January	The Dance Today	80	
1924	Late January	Winter Sports in Norway	82	
1924	Early February	The Saga of Ourselves	21	
1924	Early February	The Chic small head is achieved by the Tiny Hat- Day	26	
1924	Early February	and by the closely bobbed hair of the Parisienne Night	27	
1924	Early February	Lights of London	31	

1924	Early February	Original designs for Dominoes	35	
1924	Early February	White touched with colour for the country	36	
1924	Early February	Black and Navy blue for the Town	37	
1924	Early February	Boudoir and Ballroom alike claim lace and chiffon	38	
1924	Early February	Evening Gowns of Shimmering Fabrics	39	
1924	Early February	Seen on the Stage	41	
1924	Early February	Six Selections for the Ubiquitous all-day frock	42	
1924	Early February	Notes and News from Paris	45	
1924	Early February	A Players Adventures in Mah Jong	47	
1924	Early February	Fashions of the Mind	49	John Prioleau
1924	Early February	Winter Motor Touring	50	
1924	Early February	Novelties from the Shops	54	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Early February	The Finer Cooking	57	
1924	Early February	Opera at Covent Garden	58	
1924	Early February	A New Painter	59	
1924	Early February	*Vogue Pattern Service*	60	
1924	Early February	On Her Dressing Table	74	
1924	Early February	Turning Over New Leaves	78	
1924	Early February	Taking Stock of Stockings	83	
1924	Early February	1,000 Miles up the Amazon	84	
1924	Late February	The Silhouette is short straight and slender	23	
1924	Late February	Here and There- mostly there!	29	
1924	Late February	Inducements for looking in and out of Windows	32	
1924	Late February	The Pleasures and Pains of Mah-Jong	33	
1924	Late February	The House of Lady Joan Pedre on Brook Street	34	
1924	Late February	In the Centre of the Table	36	Basil Janides
1924	Late February	Afternoon in Paris demands the new printed frocks	39	
1924	Late February	Seen on the Stage	42	

1924	Late February	Modern Stage Settings	43	
1924	Late February	Novelties from the Shops	44	
1924	Late February	India, the land of Romance and Mystery	46	
1924	Late February	The Touch of Nature	49	
1924	Late February	Golf on the Riviera	51	
1924	Late February	Australia, the Youngest Continent	52	
1924	Late February	Paris Wardrobes anticipate the Spring Mode	54	
1924	Late February	The Finer Cooking	57	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Late February	South Africa, The Land of Gold and Sunshine	60	
1924	Late February	Odds against Chic: Middle Age	62	
1924	Late February	What to Buy in the Shops	64	
1924	Late February	Maternity clothes which avoid the obvious	66	
1924	Late February	Ingenious short cuts to smartness	68	
1924	Late February	*Vogue Pattern Service*	70	
1924	Late February	London's Music	72	Edwin Evans
1924	Late February	Motoring in the Rivera	74	
1924	Late February	Notes of the Month	80	
1924	Late February	Interviews with Couturiers	81	
1924	Early March	Fair Comment on Men, Maids and Manners	27	
1924	Early March	Evening Gowns that have an Aristocratic Elegance	30	
1924	Early March	The New Spring Hats	31	
1924	Early March	Seen on the Stage	37	
1924	Early March	Buying a Hat with the Parisienne	40	
1924	Early March	The Charm of Staffordshire Figures	48	
1924	Early March	Notes from Paris	51	
1924	Early March	Mrs. Asquiths House in Bedford Square	53	
1924	Early March	Old-time English purses are entered for 1924	54	
1924	Early March	New Silks look to Persia for Inspiration	55	

1924	Early March	The Country Cottage	56	
1924	Early March	Fabrics: Spring Silks, Curtains and Woollens	57	
1924	Early March	Changeable silk alpaca leads the collection of coudurier fructus	59	
1924	Early March	Paul Morand	63	
1924	Early March	Golf in the Springtime	65	Bernard Darwin
1924	Early March	A Scarf	66	
1924	Early March	The Finer Cooking	67	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Early March	What to Buy in the Shops	68	
1924	Early March	Wraps with a Dual Purpose	69	
1924	Early March	*Vogue Pattern Service*	70	
1924	Early March	Notes of the Month	78	
1924	Early March	On Her Dressing Table	88	
1924	Late March	Comings, Goings and Doings of Interesting People	39	
1924	Late March	Flounces are in Favour	42	
1924	Late March	Some Suggestions for a Spring Wardrobe	43	
1924	Late March	Nicole Groult shows her Spring Models in London	44	
1924	Late March	The Tailored Mode Returns	45	
1924	Late March	The Cloche and the Scarf remain firmly allied	47	
1924	Late March	Artists and the Influence of Fashion	49	
1924	Late March	A Portfolio of Decorating Pages	51	
1924	Late March	The Chaste Circassian	65	Raymond Mortimer
1924	Late March	The Louis Philippe Style	67	
1924	Late March	The Finer Cooking	69	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Late March	Southern Baroque Art	71	Tancred Barenius
1924	Late March	Seen on the Stage	72	W.J.T
1924	Late March	Cars of Distinction for both Town and Country	74	
1924	Late March	Winter Motor Touring	75	John Prioleau
1924	Late March	What to Buy in the Shops	76	

1924	Late March	Again the Mode Solo across to the East	78	
1924	Late March	The British Empire Exhibition	79	
1924	Late March	*Vogue Pattern Service*	83	
1924	Late March	Cannes and the Hills	84	
1924	Late March	The Decoration of Beds	95	
1924	Late March	What to get for the House: Offerings from the Shops	96	
1924	Late March	Notes of the Month	97	
1924	Early April	Who, When and Where: The Seasons Chronicle at Home & Abroad	35	
1924	Early April	Modern Coquetry for a Beauty of To-day	38	
1924	Early April	Sweet are the uses of Advertisements	39	Sydney Tremayne
1924	Early April	A gown of old-world Taffeta and one of modern Tulle	40	
1924	Early April	Paris	41	
1924	Early April	The mental hazard of putting	49	Bernard Darwin
1924	Early April	Hill Hall, Epping	51	
1924	Early April	The Finer Cooking	54	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Early April	Undergraduates in Tragedy	55	
1924	Early April	Seen on the Stage	56	
1924	Early April	Fashions in Decoration	61	Victoria Sackville-West
1924	Early April	Notes on the Paris Stage	62	
1924	Early April	The art of Wilsoin Steer	63	
1924	Early April	Frocks for every hour of the day	64	
1924	Early April	What to Buy in the Shops	65	
1924	Early April	Smartness for the 'teens is built on simplicity	66	
1924	Early April	Lingerie proves a frock is as new as its necking	67	
1924	Early April	Jewellery novelties from the Shops	68	
1924	Early April	*Vogue's House and Garden Supplement*	69	
1924	Early April	Looking down the garden ways	70	
1924	Early April	The God's who walk in Gardens	71	Richard le Gallienne

1924	Early April	The Cheerful Dining Room	73	Aldous Huxley
1924	Early April	Spring Adornments for wells and windows	75	
1924	Early April	Chinese ceramic art and architecture	76	
1924	Early April	Variety in exterior wall textures	77	H.J Birnstingl. A.R.I.B.A
1924	Early April	Decorative Shell Work	78	
1924	Early April	Spring in the Kitchen Garden	79	E.L Chamberlain
1924	Early April	*Vogue Pattern Service*	80	
1924	Early April	Turning Over New Leaves	82	
1924	Early April	Motor Touring in Tunisia	88	John Prioleau
1924	Early April	Toilet Preparations for Evening	98	
1924	Early April	On Her Dressing Table	98	
1924	Early April	Notes of the Month	98	
1924	Late April	Men, Maids and Matters of the Moment	43	
1924	Late April	The Dangers of Work	46	Aldous Huxley
1924	Late April	A Wild Wagneian night at Covent Garden	47	
1924	Late April	Mr. Shaw's 'Saint Joan'	49	
1924	Late April	New Citizen's fro Spring	51	
1924	Late April	The House of Miss Marie Tempest	52	
1924	Late April	Gay patterns find great favour	54	
1924	Late April	While the mannequins pass I think that…	55	J.R.F
1924	Late April	Paris holds the Mirror up to fashion	61	
1924	Late April	Lady Diana Cooper	68	
1924	Late April	The Queen and the Poet	69	Raymond Mortimer
1924	Late April	The Finer Cooking	71	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Late April	Seen on the Stage	72	
1924	Late April	A Summer Holiday in Sweden	75	Inga Norberg
1924	Late April	Scarves from the shops for many occasions	76	
1924	Late April	Three diverse modes for the Spring	77	

1924	Late April	What to Buy in the Shops	79	
1924	Late April	Isfield Place, Sussex	81	
1924	Late April	A Little Portfolio of Good Interiors	83	
1924	Late April	Lighting the Country Home	86	
1924	Late April	Round and about the flower bushes	87	
1924	Late April	Blue and White China	88	William King
1924	Late April	The Gardener's Calendar	89	
1924	Late April	*Vogue Pattern Service*	90	
1924	Late April	Block printed fabrics	100	
1924	Late April	Turning Over New Leaves	103	
1924	Late April	The Smart Set: The Aristocrat of Modern Magazines	109	
1924	Late April	From the Magpies Hold	112	
1924	Late April	Do you know how it works?	116	
1924	Early May	All the News	29	
1924	Early May	Women and the Future	32	Dorothy Richardson
1924	Early May	Seen on the Stage	35	Norman Macdermolt
1924	Early May	New decorations for our walls	36	
1924	Early May	Polo Personalities	38	
1924	Early May	Polo Prospects	39	Arthur W. Coaten
1924	Early May	Flowered crepe is a medium of the mode	40	
1924	Early May	Summer fashion steps gaily into print	41	
1924	Early May	The new fur neck-piece must be like a scarf	42	
1924	Early May	A new printed frock and a tailored morning dress	43	
1924	Early May	The first Duc de Louzun	45	Raymond Mortimer
1924	Early May	The residence of the right honourable Leverton Harks	47	
1924	Early May	Vivid scarves and monograms	50	
1924	Early May	The Finer Cooking	52	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Early May	We nominate for the hall of fame	53	

1924	Early May	Dreams	55	
1924	Early May	Collecting wool work ships	56	
1924	Early May	Silhouettes of the Season	58	
1924	Early May	What to Buy in the Shops	60	
1924	Early May	Novelties from the Shops the important accessory	61	
1924	Early May	17th Century Chairs	63	
1924	Early May	From Shop to Shop in Sloane Street	64	
1924	Early May	Frills are at the feet of the mode	66	
1924	Early May	Tunics are to be seen by day and night	67	
1924	Early May	*Vogue Pattern Service*	68	
1924	Early May	The Golfer and his Style	78	Bernard Darwin
1924	Early May	Susan's Weekend suit-case	88	
1924	Early May	On Her Dressing Table	90	
1924	Late May	Spring Accelerates the Social Speed	41	
1924	Late May	Machines and the Emotions	44	Bertrand Russell
1924	Late May	Courtship in a variety of modes	45	
1924	Late May	Flower Arrangements	46	
1924	Late May	The Finer Cooking	48	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Late May	We nominate for the hall of fame	49	
1924	Late May	An old dining room takes a new and charming style	50	
1924	Late May	Thumbnail sketches of the mode	52	
1924	Late May	Penned while Paris poses	53	
1924	Late May	Answers to the three problems of the summer racing season	54	
1924	Late May	*Vogue suggests a Spring Wardrobe*	55	
1924	Late May	The directoire casts its shadow on the youthful mode	59	
1924	Late May	New Books for the Morning Room Table	61	Raymond Mortimer
1924	Late May	A brilliant racing season	62	
1924	Late May	The Furniture of Normandy	64	

1924	Late May	Making the Bathroom beautiful	66	
1924	Late May	Fashion walks in fine feathers	68	
1924	Late May	Romania: The land of music and merriment	71	
1924	Late May	Two silhouettes of the current mode	72	
1924	Late May	Three versions of the three-piece ensemble	73	
1924	Late May	For Tennis: What to buy in the shops	75	
1924	Late May	Seen on the Stage	77	
1924	Late May	A guide to chic for the stout woman	79	
1924	Late May	The mystery of hot water	104	H.J Birnstingl. A.R.I.B.A
1924	Early June	Fetes, Functions and Frivolities	43	
1924	Early June	What's on in Paris	46	Clive Bell
1924	Early June	Young Men beware!	47	Sketches by Charles Martin
1924	Early June	Seen on the Stage	48	F.B
1924	Early June	The Finer Cooking	54	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Early June	We nominate for the hall of fame	55	
1924	Early June	Berkley Castle: A Norman Stronghold	59	Basil Janides
1924	Early June	The tunic in the role of the magic mantle	62	
1924	Early June	Accessories as allies of the black gown	64	
1924	Early June	A one gown play in four effective scenes	65	
1924	Early June	The North wind of Europe	67	
1924	Early June	The Importance of being beautiful	68	
1924	Early June	Some records of holes in one	70	Bernard Darwin
1924	Early June	Evening Accessories from the London Shops	73	
1924	Early June	Shakespeare's County	75	
1924	Early June	*Vogue Pattern Service*	78	
1924	Early June	At the Opera	82	Francis Toye
1924	Early June	Paul Nash	90	R.H.W
1924	Early June	Round and About Ilfracombe	92	

1924	Early June	Notes of the Month	96	
1924	Late June	The Empire Exhibition	43	Osbert Sitwell
1924	Late June	New Books for the Morning Room Table	46	Raymond Mortimer
1924	Late June	What to do with your Hands	47	
1924	Late June	Society walks, talks and sits in the Sun	48	
1924	Late June	A talk on the tennis	49	A. E. Beamish
1924	Late June	Pairs pronounces that the fabric is the thing	50	M.H
1924	Late June	Les Invites sont en retard	53	
1924	Late June	Seen on the Stage	54	
1924	Late June	The Finer Cooking	57	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Late June	Fashion borrows charm from a Fragunard painting	58	
1924	Late June	The tale of the easeful Bergere	59	
1924	Late June	Paris also fancies the Oriental notes	62	
1924	Late June	The Scarf still flutters on the wind of fashion	64	
1924	Late June	Popular Music	67	Aldous Huxley
1924	Late June	Nothing too much of this	68	
1924	Late June	The Importance of being beautiful	70	
1924	Late June	Suggestions for painted screens	72	
1924	Late June	Smart Golf Clothes to the Fore!	73	
1924	Late June	Colour Schemes for Formal Rooms	76	
1924	Late June	Fashion still favours Crepe and Alpaca	77	
1924	Late June	*Vogue Pattern Service*	78	
1924	Late June	A Secluded Chelsea Garden	104	
1924	Early July	London Calling! The seasons progress from Wembley to Liverpool	29	
1924	Early July	Original designs for Dressing tables	32	
1924	Early July	Seen on the Stage	34	
1924	Early July	Travel Zones of France	43	
1924	Early July	The Yachting Season	47	Lord Montagu of Beaulieu

1924	Early July	Adam and Eve: The True Story	48	
1924	Early July	New Books for the Morning Room Table	49	Raymond Mortimer
1924	Early July	What is on in Paris	51	Clive Bell
1924	Early July	The Importance of being beautiful	52	
1924	Early July	Doing as the Romans do	54	
1924	Early July	Shoes to wear, and when to wear them	56	
1924	Early July	Pyjamas become of vivid importance	57	
1924	Early July	Clothes for Cowes	58	
1924	Early July	The Finer Cooking	61	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Early July	New Pictures	62	
1924	Early July	A guide to chic for the debutante	64	
1924	Early July	French fabrics and frocks for the summer	66	
1924	Early July	Black and White is decreed for Day and Night	68	
1924	Early July	What to buy in the London shops	69	
1924	Early July	*Vogue Pattern Service*	72	
1924	Early July	Notes of the Month	80	
1924	Late July	Seen on the Stage	23	Francis Birrell
1924	Late July	New notes of the season	26	
1924	Late July	Gathered by the camera	27	
1924	Late July	The necessity of Song-Froid in Golf	28	Bernard Darwin
1924	Late July	Little glimpses into the home life of great artists	29	
1924	Late July	Some fans of yesterday for modern interiors	31	
1924	Late July	Fashions worn in Pairs	33	
1924	Late July	Eight interesting dining rooms in Town and Country	38	
1924	Late July	1904/1924	42/43	
1924	Late July	New Books for the Morning Room Table	45	Raymond Mortimer
1924	Late July	The Highland Gatherings: A Great Scottish Tradition	46	Harrison Miles
1924	Late July	Travelling clothes for the North	49	

1924	Late July	French Paintings - Now	52	
1924	Late July	Some recipes from Scotland	56	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Late July	Some new footnotes to the mode	57	
1924	Late July	A selection of bathing suits	58	
1924	Late July	Characteristic features of Jacobean furniture	61	
1924	Late July	What to Buy in the Shops	62	
1924	Late July	*Vogue Pattern Service*	63	
1924	Late July	Notes of the Month	74	
1924	Late July	Steps in the Garden	76	
1924	Early August	Art of Wembley	23	Osbert Sitwell
1924	Early August	Travel Zones of France	26	
1924	Early August	Furniture of the directoire suite	29	
1924	Early August	The mode sets forth in black and white	30	
1924	Early August	Paris sponsors a decided rage for hems	31	
1924	Early August	You can always tell by the Dog	32	
1924	Early August	New Books for the Morning Room Table	33	Raymond Mortimer
1924	Early August	Interesting People seen on many Summer Occasions	38	
1924	Early August	The Importance of being beautiful	40	
1924	Early August	Femininities	43	Polly Flinders
1924	Early August	Seen on the stage	44	
1924	Early August	The truth about beauty	46	
1924	Early August	Suggestions and critiques for a modern room	52	
1924	Early August	New reproductions of old furniture	53	
1924	Early August	2 London hostesses and a debutante of the year	54	
1924	Early August	The Finer Cooking	55	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Early August	Fashion in the reign of Louis XV	56	
1924	Early August	A week of summer clothes	58	
1924	Early August	What to buy in the shops	60	

1924	Early August	*Vogue Pattern Service*	61	
1924	Early August	A guide to beauty	64	
1924	Early August	The fine art of perfume	65	
1924	Late August	Paris fashions in furnishing	27	
1924	Late August	Jane Austen and George Elliot	32	Edith Sitwell
1924	Late August	The romantic rendezvous of the restoration	33	
1924	Late August	Frocks and tailleurs in the summer sun	34	
1924	Late August	Smart frocks seen on some well known people	35	
1924	Late August	At le Touquet	36	
1924	Late August	Early Autumn gleanings from Paris	38	
1924	Late August	Old treasures well bestowed	41	
1924	Late August	On writing about the game of Golf	44	Bernard Darwin
1924	Late August	The freedom of the sexes	45	
1924	Late August	A history of some fashions in love	49	Aldous Huxley
1924	Late August	The summer of the smart set	50	
1924	Late August	The Finer Cooking	52	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Late August	An Autumn holiday among Swiss mountains	53	
1924	Late August	Youthful Paris keeps step with the grown ups	54	
1924	Late August	Jewels and the style bracelet	56	
1924	Late August	In Retrospect: Features of the musical season	58	Basil Maine
1924	Late August	Furniture of the 'Style Empire'	59	
1924	Late August	A guide to chic for 2 little girls	60	
1924	Late August	The scope of the cinema	65	Iris Barry
1924	Late August	Gowns designed to be worn by women who have put on pounds	66	
1924	Late August	Dignified models suggestions for the still slim older woman	67	
1924	Late August	*Vogue Pattern Service*	68	
1924	Early September	Innocents and others abroad and at home	27	
1924	Early September	New Books for the Morning Room Table	30	Raymond Mortimer

1924	Early September	Advice to young men about to marry	31	
1924	Early September	Painted and Decorated Doors	34	
1924	Early September	Manners and Modes	36	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Early September	Pleasant places on the way to La Biarrihs	41	
1924	Early September	Costumes for the days of early Autumn	42	
1924	Early September	Couturiers send the new modes on this way	43	
1924	Early September	Beauty and Brains on the London Stage	44	
1924	Early September	An outline of Spanish furniture	45	
1924	Early September	Through a French day with fabrics and colours	46	M.H
1924	Early September	Tallerrand: Bishop, Statesman, and Wit	53	
1924	Early September	The Importance of being beautiful: The Neck	54	
1924	Early September	New Mexico suggests a novel and simple style of decoration	57	
1924	Early September	Paris says what fur for Winter	58	
1924	Early September	A singular golfing conference	61	Bernard Darwin
1924	Early September	English fabrics that fly high in the mode	64	
1924	Early September	*Vogue Pattern Service*	66	
1924	Early September	"Reis Sahib" on Persia	78	
1924	Early September	On Her Dressing Table	82	
1924	Late September	The highway to Chic	33	
1924	Late September	Seen in the Sunshine	40	
1924	Late September	The social round	41	
1924	Late September	Before and behind the screen		
1924	Late September	Prominent American and British figures in the interiors	44	
1924	Late September	Polo matches at Westbury, Long Island	45	
1924	Late September	Seen on the stage	46	David Garnett
1924	Late September	Why the wedding ceremony ought to be revised	48	
1924	Late September	The Finer Cooking	49	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Late September	Super architecture of today	50	

1924	Late September	A Forecast of the Winter Mode	53	
1924	Late September	Popular Literature	57	Aldous Huxley
1924	Late September	The London House of Mr. Arnold Bennet	59	
1924	Late September	Pablo Picasso	60	R.
1924	Late September	The importance of being beautiful: Beauty	64	
1924	Late September	Seen in the Shops	66	
1924	Late September	The fine art of Japanese flower arrangement	68	Kichi Harada
1924	Late September	A guide to chic for the business woman	70	
1924	Late September	The maternity wardrobe meets the mode	72	
1924	Late September	*Vogue Pattern Service*	74	
1924	Late September	The Autumn Cinema	78	Iris Barry
1924	Late September	Notes of the Month	88	
1924	Early October	Seen at the Steering Wheel	52	
1924	Early October	The Triumph of the Machine	53	Sketches by Fish
1924	Early October	Seen on the stage	56	
1924	Early October	When a Genius puts Pencil to Paper	58	
1924	Early October	Murasaki, Japanese Novelist	59	Arthur Waley
1924	Early October	A Portfolio of Good Drawing Rooms	60	
1924	Early October	Ancient and Modern decoration for drawing rooms	62	
1924	Early October	Chapeaux	64	
1924	Early October	Watching the World go by	68	
1924	Early October	The camera sends an interesting log from the North	69	
1924	Early October	Anna Pavlova	70	
1924	Early October	The Finer Cooking	71	X. Marcel Boulestin
1924	Early October	Two contrasting fashions in black and gold	72	
1924	Early October	First glimpses of the coming play of fashion	73	M.H
1924	Early October	The Evening Mode treads a brilliant path	79	
1924	Early October	Women of Distinction in Literature	60	

1924	Early October	Three Women Writers: Mansfield, Richardson and Stein	81	Edith Sitwell
1924	Early October	The Importance of being beautiful: The Coiffure	82	
1924	Early October	The decorative value of old silhouettes	86	
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